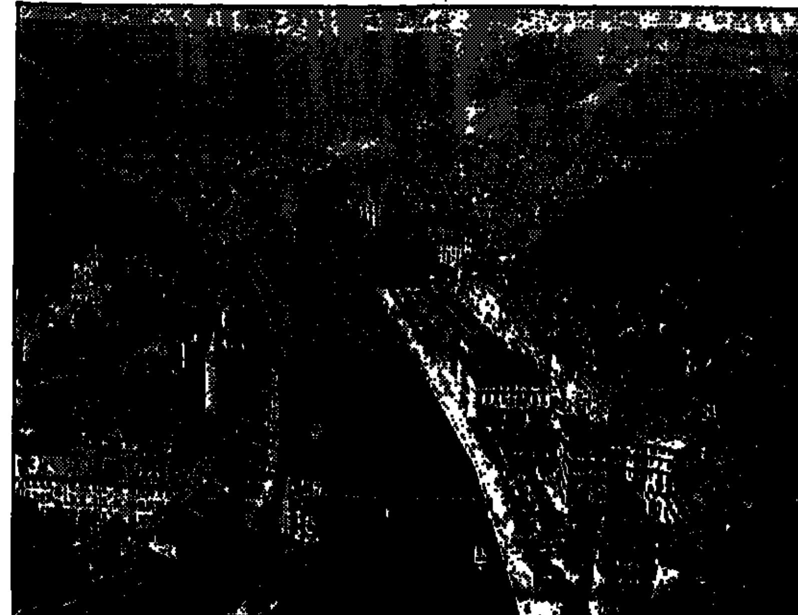
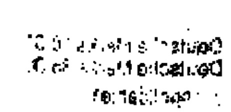










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Europe takes a bearing on life after Haig

...merican presidents strong on world affairs have usually influenced ... from the White House. Others ... left it to the State Department, ...d by such distinguished men as ... Acheson, John Foster Dulles and ... Kissinger.

...er President Reagan, a newcomer ...n affairs, confusion has reigned ... months. Security advisers have ...nable to establish themselves and ...retary of State has been kept on ... rein.

...result, Administration prestige ...ffered.

...nder Haig was right in saying, ...tter of resignation to President ..., that US foreign policy was un... President's Californian aides ...ame.

...include National Security Advi... ...iam T. Clark; White House de... ...ef of staff Michael Deaver, and ...viser Ed Meese; and Defence ... Caspar Weinberger.

...er eight years of lucrative manage... work for a Californian multi, ... Shultz has joined the adminis... as Mr Haig's successor.

...may sound like jobs for the (Cali...) boys, but the truth is not that ...htforward. Mr Shultz is an econo... by profession, an experienced or... and a political conservative with ... in both US political parties.

...a financially independent citi... to do his country and his Pre...

...rvice. He is a man of substan... ...er-on.

... as quick to anger as Mr ... will, as he demonstrated in ... he feels obliged to.

... not a yes-man but he is a ... would appear to be more ... Mr Haig was.

... the personal difficulties ... with President Reagan's ... there were a number of se...rious political differences between them that were bound to create trouble.

Mr Haig favoured close ties with mainland China and was against the upgrading of Taiwan advocated by Mr Reagan's extreme right-wing allies.

He was unable to persuade the President to maintain the grain export embargo imposed on the Soviet Union by Mr Carter. Mr Reagan fulfilled his campaign promise to the farmers and made his *Ostpolitik* forfeit credibility.

Mr Haig was opposed to the announcement Defence Secretary Weinberger made that the United States was going to go ahead and manufacture neutron bombs.

He took European opinion into account, which Mr Weinberger did not. Mr Haig was also Israel's strongest supporter among President Reagan's aides.

He had come to terms with the gas pipeline between Siberia and Western Europe and was keen to see arms control talks, held, partly to keep Nato together.

So what has changed? First, negotiations between America and Russia will stall even though the Start talks have begun in Geneva.

What Mr Haig discussed with Mr Gromyko can no longer be fully valid now the Russians have seen Mr Reagan drop his Secretary of State like a hot potato.

Trade sanctions imposed on Moscow with a view to sabotaging the gas pipeline might have been lifted in time if Mr Haig had continued in office.

Now they are here to stay, and they will be a burden on the Western alliance. Mr Shultz may be well aware of the damage done, but he will not want to begin his term in office by protesting to the President.

In the Middle East Mr Begin could well feel he will never get a better opportunity than the present confusion in Washington of achieving military targets. China will follow with mistrust what happens in America and cautiously continue to establish links with Russia. Those who had hoped President Reagan would, after a settling-in period, pursue more straightforward policies than Mr Carter must think is terms of a fresh apprenticeship. Mr Shultz may be uncommonly competent to judge economic matters but he still has much to learn in foreign affairs. He has never been a great advocate of sanctions, even against Moscow. This was clear when Senator Jackson ineptly combined economic affairs and Soviet comments on the Jews and was backed by Congress.



The Summiteers
Guess who's coming to lunch. Common Market leaders, in Brussels for the EEC summit with King Baudouin of the Belgians, their host for lunch. The King, at the front, is chatting to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. They are flanked by President Mitterrand (left) and Italian Prime Minister Giovanni Spadolini. Chancellor Schmidt and Foreign Minister Genscher are at the rear. (Photo: dpa)

Observers feel Mr Shultz will likewise be opposed to President Reagan's decision to involve European companies in the policy of sabotaging the Siberian gas pipeline.

American friends of the new Secretary of State warn against hoping too much of him in Europe, where he is held in even greater esteem than Mr Haig.

They expect him to carry out Mr Reagan's policy to the letter.

Consistency is an almost forgotten quality in US foreign policy. Should one now be worried at the prospect?

Hardly, now a level-headed man has taken over at the Department of State.

Yet it is upsetting to feel that we again have no idea how seriously the Reagan administration takes, say, disarmament, which is so important to America's allies.

It is only too easy to draw inferences from the fact Mr Haig was intrigued against when discussing the Start talks and the projected Reagan-Brezhnev summit with Mr Gromyko in New York.

One can but hope this is not an inauspicious omen.

Emil Bölte
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 28 June 1982)

EEC offers Lebanon cash aid, works out a political stance

The EEC has decided to lift trade sanctions against Argentina and to offer immediate aid to the Lebanon.

The decisions were taken by foreign ministers of the Ten on the eve of the EEC summit called to work out a political response to the crisis in the Lebanon.

The embargo on Argentina was a political move. Deliveries en route were not affected and, as the Argentinian Economic Affairs Minister, Señor Aleman, noted, the damage it did was not too great.

But he said Argentina is continuing to rearrange its trade ties because it is disappointed politically by Europe.

Europe's response to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon was much more complicated. The invasion had already been condemned. All that was left was to decide whether or not to impose sanctions on Israel.

Britain, France and Greece favoured a tough approach. The Germans and Dutch were for moderation.

It was finally agreed to call a halt to financial talks with Israel and to offer Lebanon immediate assistance running into millions.

Now EEC heads of state and government have to decide on a political response at their Brussels summit.

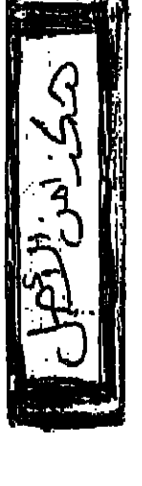
The ideal solution for some time would be a withdrawal of all troops from Lebanon: Israeli, Syrian and Palestinian. Lebanon could then become a sovereign state once more, without the Palestinian state within a state.

Peace could be restored between Israel and Lebanon this would be welcomed not only by most Lebanese but also by most Arabs.

The Arabs' problem is Israel's military success and what to do with the PLO. Any Arab state that gives it a new home can expect trouble. The PLO will always mean trouble.

For Israel everything ... straightforward. Less so for the A... European Community, ... not to be envied.

(Rheinischer Merk...)



WORLD AFFAIRS

Alliance in a trough over trade with the East

There is no more exaltation over the summits in Versailles and Bonn. The words of the official communiques were waste paper even before Chancellor Schmidt had time to tell the Bundestag what a great step forward there had been.

The divide that separates America and Western Europe is as deep as at any time in recent years. Two views on how the free West is to deal with the Soviet Union remain unreconciled.

Once again both the friends and foes of the United States are bound to wonder what good Washington's word is, or even what it is.

At Versailles the leaders of the seven most powerful Western industrialised countries agreed on a common-sense, graduated economic approach toward the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

It was to be in keeping with with their political and security interests, to be soundly based in economic terms and to take into account the need for commercial common sense in limiting export credits.

Whatever these finely turned phrases might be taken to mean, Mr Reagan's partners did not think that they meant a trade war on the Soviet Union.

Were stricter controls to be imposed on the export of strategic goods to the East bloc? By all means. In the past it had for the most part been the Americans who time and again, legally or illegally, punched holes in the Cocom embargo list.

Greater restraint in offering the communist countries credit facilities? No-one had any serious objections about this, either.

There are sound commercial reasons why the banks are no longer in a position to provide export credit facilities as generously as they tended to in the early 70s.

The Nato communique expressly referred to the significant role economic ties with the Warsaw Pact countries could play in developing a stable East-West relationship.

The sole proviso was that they should be on the basis of balanced benefit to both sides, and the Europeans felt this balance was struck by their gas-for-pipelines deal with the Soviet Union.

President Reagan left no doubt he still had grave misgivings about this project and the comparable Japanese project in Sakhalin.

But the other Western leaders at the summit gained the impression that in the final analysis he would be prepared to accept the projects for the sake of America's alliance ties.

This impression was mistaken. President Reagan has since extended the economic sanctions imposed on the Soviet Union after martial law was declared in Poland to overseas subsidiaries of US corporations and foreign companies manufacturing under US licence.

The sanctions will not mean the end of the gas-for-pipelines deal, but they are sure to make it more difficult and cause delay.

So Mr Reagan has chosen the very moment to challenge the Soviet Union at which, after 18 months' delay, he was decided to resume the strategic dialogue with Russia.

Heedless of the fine words in the communiques he has dealt his allies a serious blow.

For one, the basis of free world trade is at stake. It is based on the free flow of capital and know-how, on international division of labour and cooperation, on corporate connections and honouring of contracts.

To shake at any of these foundations is to dynamite the international economic order that has taken shape since 1945.

Multinational corporations are going to have to foot the bill if they are to be transformed into mere reflexes of national policy.

This will inevitably lead to redoubled efforts to achieve self-reliance, to limits to cooperation and to unnecessary resolves to go it alone.

It is bitterly ironic that Ronald Reagan of all people, the advocate of free enterprise in the free world, is putting the roots of these organic structures to the axe.

For another, relations within the North Atlantic pact are at stake. In the spirit of mutual respect, the Bonn Declaration put it, we are ready at all times to coordinate our aims and interests by free and close consultations.

They are the nucleus of day-to-day cooperation in the alliance, it continued, and will be suitably intensified. We are a partnership of equals in which no-one predominates or is dominated.

These fine-sounding words have since been reduced to a joke. As so often in the past, Washington did not see fit even to go through the motions of consulting its allies on tougher trade sanctions.

While the US administration expects Europe and Japan to bear the brunt of heavy export losses, Washington is allowing more US grain to be exported to Russia.

Grain shipments will be paid for promptly, partly with the aid of loans raised by European banks. Export credits to the Soviet Union, otherwise taboo, are welcome in this context.

Is that what America means by burdensharing and equality of sacrifices?

Last but not least, it is a matter of the policy the West is best advised to pursue toward the communist world.

Is confrontation called for to undermine the Soviet system, destabilise the East bloc and, as Mr Reagan put it in London, throw communism on to the trash heap of world history?

Or is what is needed a policy of coexistence aimed at steadily extending cooperation with the East, without being overtrusting or neglecting Western security interests?

Would it not be better to try, without the least inferiority complex, to step up cooperation, step down confrontation and gradually, by change through rapprochement, to aim at softening, easing and changing the system?

Western Europe must share a continent with the Soviet Union and its client states. It follows that it must be keenly interested in transforming coexistence into cooperation, or at least in blunting the edges of anything short of the latter.

If the Soviet Union forces it to oppose the East bloc, it must stand up and be counted. But unlike America, Western Europe cannot take an abstract choice between confrontation and cooperation, as it were.

Its situation demands, whatever the difficulties, that Western Europe try time and again to practise coexistence.

From the outset there have been two conflicting lines of thought in the Reagan administration: the ideological conservatives and the pragmatic conservatives.

The ideologues are Manichaeans, believing that world affairs is a struggle between the forces of dark and the forces of light.

They call on the West to make use of the difficulties faced by the communist countries to end Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe.

The pragmatists are realists who are under no illusion about the Soviet Union. They look on Moscow as a most awkward counterpart and expect the duel to last for an unforeseeable length of time.

Yet they feel that an attempt must be made to come to terms with the Kremlin.

Mr Reagan himself, by virtue of both his political origins and his personal outlook, tends to take the Manichaean view, but he has gradually come to terms with reality and tried to strike a new note on some issues at least.

But he still has the old ideas at the back of his mind. Two hearts beat in his breast.

First he advocates a crusade for freedom, with alarming reminders of the rollback vocabulary of the early 50s. His message is a challenge.

Then he poses as an out-and-out supporter of disarmament who is keen to hold talks and anxious to reach agreement. Can the two be reconciled?

There is a philosophy behind his latest decision to extend trade sanctions. It is the intention of forcing the Soviet Union on to its knees.

The idea behind the Start talks in Geneva is entirely different. It is that the superpowers will have to live with each other if they and the world are to survive.

Mr Reagan has sketched out a complete disarmament programme: for intercontinental and Euromissiles and for conventional weapons. And at all three levels America has tabled maximum demands.

At the top he expects the Soviet Union to scrap land-based missiles, in which it has the edge, and to rearm at great expense at sea, where it does not enjoy an advantage.

The US proposals are tailormade to leave all American modernisation programmes unaffected. They make no mention whatever of strategic bombers or Cruise missiles.

At the intermediate level Mr Reagan's zero option is aimed at taking the Soviet Union back to where it was in 1975 while allowing the United States to keep everything it has.

For the Vienna troop cut talks the President has merely warmed up an idea on which the two sides have negotiated in vain for the past two years because they cannot agree on data.

Is this pragmatism or ideology? One wonders. As starting points Mr Reagan's proposals would make *Realpolitik* sense if only readiness to compromise were to be apparent at some stage behinde the readiness to negotiate.

But there are many ideologues in Washington who are not in the least interested in compromise and would sooner see disarmament bids fail, providing a pretext for stepping up armament.

In trade policy the crusaders have gained the upper hand. There can be no ruling out the possibility of them doing so in disarmament policy too.

Why should one make the Soviet Union out to be the Devil incarnate when treaties are to be negotiated with it? Why should one wage trade war and verbally, cold war when a constructive relationship between the superpowers is the target?

Why ruin the climate of world affairs when disarmament talks can only prosper in a promising overall outlook?

These are questions Mr Reagan has yet to answer. As far as his allies are concerned it is anyone's guess.

But ex-Secretary of State Haig's words still hold good. "The allies must know where we are heading," he said, "if we are to expect them to go along with us."

Theo Sommer

(Die Zeit, 25 June 1982)

Bid to hit supplies for gas-pipeline project, page 6.

(Cartoon: Mussil/Frankfurter Rundschau)

Continued on page 3

Continued from page 2

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HOME AFFAIRS

Bated breath as parties work on budget details

The Social Democrats and their Free Democrat partners in the Bonn coalition appear to have reached a compromise on the 1983 federal budget. It has not been decided exactly where cuts will fall, but all agree that some state benefits are too generous and that, despite high unemployment, state borrowing must be curbed at a time of high interest rates.

Chancellor Schmidt has no guarantees that concessions by the SPD mean survival until 1984.

He told a parliamentary group meeting that he could understand their feelings of doubt.

But he wanted them to endorse a compromise solution for the 1983 budget.

He had three reasons: first, there was no other way of getting austerity measures through.

Second, he wanted neither a purely Keynesian economic policy nor one along the lines of Brüning in which the nation would save itself to death.

Third, the SPD must not be held responsible for a breakdown of the coalition.

"Should we let the coalition founder for five hundred million marks?" Schmidt asked.

He was referring to a remark by Economic Affairs Minister Count Otto Lambsdorff, who had said that even half a billion more or less additional borrowing could prove a stumbling block for the coalition.

The Social Democrats are surprisingly united in the view that Schmidt must not allow himself to be hemmed in in his own "barbed wire fence."

This is not unimportant for the future of the SPD, which needs to think about its shape and existence in the years to come.

Even purely historic data have always had their political significance for the Social Democrats.

Although this is 1982, they still engage in long disputes on whether it was right to approve of war bonds in 1914 and whether Gustav Noske, the *Reichswehrminister* in 1919, betrayed party principles ... or whether the Hermann Müller government should have been allowed to fall over a trivial financial matter in 1930 (or whether it was perhaps the Liberals after all who gave it the coup de grace, as Willy Brandt maintains).

SPD MPs deplore the lack of serious attempts to provide more money to fight unemployment. This is clearly directed at Finance Minister Manfred Lahnstein.

But even party left wingers agree that the government should not fall on this issue.

Should it come to the crunch — and the FDP feels that this is the crunch after 12 years of the coalition — the SPD is prepared to live with its disenchantment with the coalition partner.

This is what Helmut Schmidt advised. It is better to rivet the party's attention on the weaknesses of the conservatives instead of staring at the FDP as if hypnotised.

Ever since the autumn 1980 national elections the Social Democrats have found themselves on the decline due to internal problems; their relationship with the FDP, and political issues in general.

The explanations have always been contradictory. The blame has been put on the "image" (Helmut Schmidt); on "the government's inability to learn" (Erhard Eppler); on the left or on the right; on the supporters or on opponents of growth; on supporters or on opponents of the double Nato decision; on Helmut Schmidt or on Willy Brandt.

The SPD is winding its way out of this blame-everyone mentality. There is something like a new feeling of togetherness.

This might have been helped by the Munich party congress a certain closing of ranks between the Chancellor and his party. He also managed to restore some of the feeling of identity. This has probably been helped by pressure from the Greens and the peace movement. But the decisive impulse has come from the FDP's see-sawing.

In any event, the change is evidenced in Helmut Schmidt himself. Now, he considers himself more victimised by the FDP than by his fellow Social Democrats.

The fact that the Liberals dropped his most faithful follower — Hesse's Holger Börner, of all people — and that they did so using arguments that could just as well be applied to Schmidt himself (decline of the SPD, being hemmed in within the barbed wire fence of their own party congress resolutions and inability to make decisions) has hit the Chancellor particularly hard. Hans-Dietrich Genscher now even questions Schmidt's foreign policy, a mainstay of the coalition since 1969.

Schmidt says nothing about this in public; but his mistrust is deep-rooted.

Social Democrat cabinet members consider it an insult to their intelligence that the FDP argues that the reason for the shift in Hesse was to help Schmidt.

As Schmidt sees it, unpredictable parties are irksome ... but that's how they are. But what if the cabinet members also become unpredictable?

Take just one incident of many at the latest coalition talks: Genscher refused to approve a certain formulation on increased social security pensions contributions because that could prevent the FDP from reverting to the controversial *Karenztage* (a specific number of unpaid sick leave days) issue at a later date.

This led to the question of whether Genscher actually intended to revert to this disputed issue which has become a "code word" for the intention to break away from the coalition. Genscher answered that he did not know.

Everybody shirks a firm stand on issues. There are no clear answers to be had from the FDP — and the SPD does not expect this to change. As a result, Schmidt now finds his own party much more calculable than his coalition partner. There is also more solidarity now even if Finance Minister Lahnstein and Labour Minister Westphal are still at loggerheads over the correct course in the austerity drive. In fact, even relations between Brandt and Schmidt have become more relaxed.

True, there is now more togetherness and self confidence among the Social Democrats. But there is also many a contradiction in wanting to make no major concession to the coalition partner while at the same time not wanting to opt out of government responsibility.

How high can the SPD make the hurdles for the Liberals without risking a breakup? What is the limit to new borrowing? Is it 28 billion or 30 billion? Or is the breaking point a half per cent rise in the unemployment insurance? Or will the break come over the financial scope for economic booster programmes of doubtful effectiveness?

It is not easy to convert togetherness and self confidence into day-to-day politics. To make matters worse, there are not only factual difficulties on specific issues but also differences of views within the SPD camp.

In the end, it turns out that there are only few Social Democrats in favour of forcing the FDP in the course of the budget talks to put its cards on the table regarding the coalition.

But among those who favour toughness are Holger Börner, Horst Ehmke, Wolfgang Roth and perhaps Hans-Jochen Vogel.

Helmut Schmidt the economist backs Finance Minister Lahnstein, who urges thriftiness and balance without seeing much scope for encouraging growth.

The Chancellor has told his parliamentary group accordingly. But he has also been told that the SPD feels that tolerance levels have been reached.

At the moment, the SPD has no time to ponder what will become of it. There is one common view, and that is that agreeing on the budget is no longer enough to provide the coalition with a durable foundation. So what is to be done?

The crucial question as to whether the party could perhaps regenerate itself on the opposition benches plays a secondary role at the moment.

One member of Schmidt's team: "If the SPD is unable to govern, it is also unable to put up an opposition — and vice versa".

A coalition with the Greens is hardly the solution. As Volker Hauff puts it: "The fact that the FDP wavers does not mean that we should also become a seesaw party."

But Hauff also says that only a clearer definition of the party's policy could bring about a response. This policy would have to be of a nature that would rally new friends without antagonising old ones.

Right now, it is day-to-day problems that trouble the SPD. The election in Hesse could well turn out to be as tricky as in Hamburg, although there is now a slight surge of optimism in Börner's party.

And then there is the question of whether new elections can be avoided. There is already speculation on how new elections in Hamburg, Hesse and even Bonn could be combined with the Schleswig-Holstein election on 13 March 1983.

At the same time, the SPD is beginning to feel a need to make policy once more rather than engage in futile internal disputes. It is this above all that unites Helmut Schmidt and his party.

The Social Democrats don't want to constantly rack their brains over whether Genscher frowned or whether what was seen was nothing but natural wrinkles.

Once the pressure of day-to-day business allows, Willy Brandt wants to complete the memoirs of his early years, to be published in the autumn. The title: "Left and Free".

Günter Hofmann

(Die Zeit, 25 June 1982)

Not yet time to pull the carpet out

If Hans-Dietrich Genscher had wanted to break up the Bonn coalition over the 1983 budget he had the chance at the budget talks.

The negotiators couldn't produce the main budget data and had to meet again the following day.

This raised SPD hopes that the Free Democrats are looking for compromise.

FDP party whip, Wolfgang Mischnick, says any compromise would mean a continuation of the coalition until 1984.

But that bridge is still to be crossed. The differing views — especially over the new debt and budgetary cutbacks — are still dynamite.

Even if the Bonn partners can't agree immediately they still have time. The 1983 budget is not scheduled to be approved before 7 July.

Genscher's problem is to change the parties in Bonn, as the FDP did in Hesse, with a united parliamentary group and party executive.

The trouble, however, is that prominent FDP Bundestag members, including Interior Minister Gerhart Baum and (much to Genscher's surprise) even the state FDP parties that were defeated in recent elections are not prepared to. This has added weight to massive SPD criticism of Genscher's course.

In view of this difficult situation and the danger of a split among the Liberals, it is quite possible that Genscher might opt for the simpler solution: to stick with the coalition, when he can expect more loyalty from the coalition-weary right wing of his party than he could expect from the left wing in case of a break in Bonn.

Following the change Hesse, the end of the coalition would certainly be the more honest solution.

No matter what they do, the Free Democrats run a risk.

The question is how the voters will react to an FDP that cannot stay with the SPD in Hesse but can in Bonn.

The reason given for the shift in Hesse was not predominantly state politics but matters of principle:

An additional problem for Genscher could arise from the fact that he is seeking refuge in a dubious compromise on the 1983 budget, which the Constitutional Court might not even uphold.

Since the conservatives are contemplating putting the Bonn debt before the Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe on the grounds that it exceeds constitutionally allowed levels, Genscher's assurances that all he wants is to bring about a change in fiscal matters are being put to a credibility test.

Rudi Kilgus

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 23 June 1982)

■ PEOPLE

A conservative is nearly king of an SPD castle



Hesse's Social Democrats guffawed when the young newly elected chairman of the CDU announced that he wanted a majority "and nothing but a majority".

That was 15 years ago. The young CDU leader, Alfred Dregger, has achieved his aim. His party once commanded only 26.6 per cent of the vote.

Now it has a majority in the *Land* assembly. In the last Hesse election it won 46 per cent of the vote. The SPD governs only with the help of the FDP.

The FDP has now announced that it wants to go into coalition with the CDU, so it seems likely that Dregger will become the Prime Minister of Hesse on his fourth attempt.

It is not to be wondered that the SPD, under their unchallenged leader, Georg August Zinn, laughed at him all those years ago.

Hesse Social Democratic tradition dates back to the Kaiser's era. It is a predominantly Protestant *Land* with many metropolitan areas and conurbations that made it an almost impregnable SPD fortress.

CDU men were so reluctant to stand for election that the party could not even find a candidate for Northern Hesse until the mid-1970s.

The picture has changed. But Dregger does not yet regard himself as home and dry.

He sees two advantages of having a coalition with the FDP: It would cement his party's position in future *Land* elections, and it would influence the national election in 1984.

Dregger is certain that a change of government in Hesse will affect Bonn as well — unless there is a change there even before the Hesse election.

He would regard it as a personal triumph if a joint CDU-FDP victory proved the last little nudge needed to topple the crumbling Bonn government.

But right now the FDP is causing him some headaches.

After so many years of a coalition with the Social Democrats — it feels that it has to justify the shift. This is understandable.

But what does irritate Dregger is that the Hesse FDP chairman, Ekkehard Gries, still acts as if his party were "a provincial theatre company rehearsing Hamlet."

The FDP's many ifs and buts are not only an irritant; Dregger says they are also dangerous. They could obscure the party's aims.

"There comes a time when you've got to take the plunge," says Dregger, pointing to Walter Scheel's courageous leap from the CDU/CSU to the SPD.

"Unless things change, I won't be able to rely on such a partner."

This disenchantment is typical of Dregger.

This attitude is not only due to his personality but also to his laborious political conquest of Hesse.

Any challenger here had to campaign with a sledgehammer — this is in keeping with Dregger's personality.

People who tote their guns as aggressively as he does won't hesitate to use them, once said Rudi Arndt, one of his Social Democratic opponents and himself not exactly kid-gloved, of Dregger.

That was when he was dubbed "Alfred the Iron Eater" — a label of both fear and respect.

Ever since, Dregger has had the reputation of being a whiplash conservative on the extreme right wing. Only a short while ago, at the Darmstadt FDP congress, there were many who called him the anti-liberal incarnate.

Dregger shakes his head in disbelief at this sort of label and says he doesn't even remember many of the fire-eating statements imputed to him.

Quite apart from the fact that he presented himself as "Alfred the Mild" in the Hesse campaign four years ago, he regards the man who will probably be his predecessor, Holger Börner, as being to the right of himself.

He keeps pointing to his fellow CDU man Walter Wallmann (who, with his social democratic and liberal traits, has for some years successfully governed Frankfurt without turning the city into a bastion of reaction) whom he would like to be used as a yardstick for himself.

Dregger sees no major difficulties for a possible cooperation with the Free Democrats — especially in economic and unemployment policies.

He does not even anticipate problems on domestic and legal policy.

Even education policy, which has long been a bone of contention between the present Hesse government and the opposition, holds no particular danger as he sees it, except that the FDP might have been teamed up with the SPD.

Dregger wants parents to get the kind of school they want for their children.

He makes no bones about favouring the conventional three-tier school system and that he hopes to win on this issue.

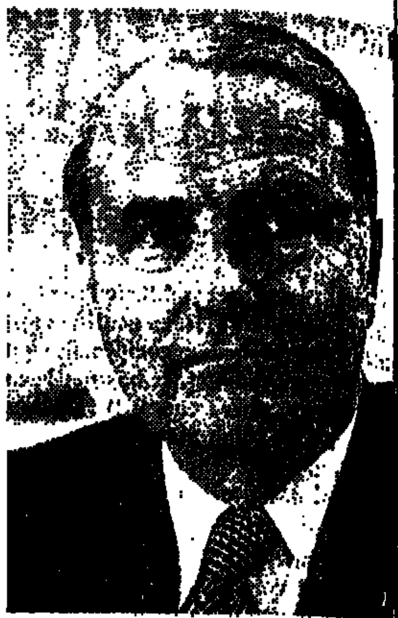
The Liberals would again get two of the eight portfolios in a Dregger cabinet probably the same (interior and economic affairs) they now have with the same ministers, Ekkehard Gries and Klaus-Jürgen Hoffie. Hoffie was one of the driving forces behind the shift.

Attention will centre on them when a new CDU/FDP government looks at Bonn's Social-Liberal legislation, if that government still exists in Bonn.

It would be nonsense to block Bonn legislation in the Bundesrat, says Dregger. The Germans do not want to be blocked, they want to be governed.

At one time, when he was still further removed from the power in Hesse, he offered the FDP *the* say on Bundesrat matters.

He now says that he takes it for granted that the Hesse CDU will honour the loyalty the FDP owes to the national party, which happens to be in a coalition with the SPD, patterned on the CDU/FDP government in the Saarland.


Alfred Dregger . . . seeks the last laugh (Photo: Marianne von der Lancken)

This does not sound quite as accommodating as Dregger's previous statement. But even so, he stresses that when it comes to Bonn issues that are fundamental to the FDP "we shall have to accept this."

Perhaps he finds it easy to make the concession because he has no doubt that there will be a dramatic change in Bonn if he succeeds in Hesse.

Alfred Dregger is nearer his goal than ever before. He seems more unperturbed and less aggressive.

To have taken the CDU from its former depths to the very top could be the crowning of his career.

Carl-Christian Kaiser
(Die Zeit, 25 June 1982)

New postal workers' chief will resist any job cuts

Kurt van Haaren, 44, is the new leader of the 460,000-member postal workers' union (DPG), the fifth largest union affiliated to the Trade Union Confederation (DGB). He is the youngest chairman of a DGB union. He succeeds Ernst Breit, who has been elected chief of the DGB.

Kurt van Haaren, who began his career in 1953 as a postman, now heads a union that has had a 9.5 per cent increase in membership since 1977.

Only HBV, representing commerce, banking and insurance employees (25.1), and the transport and public sector workers' ÖTV (9.6), have grown faster.

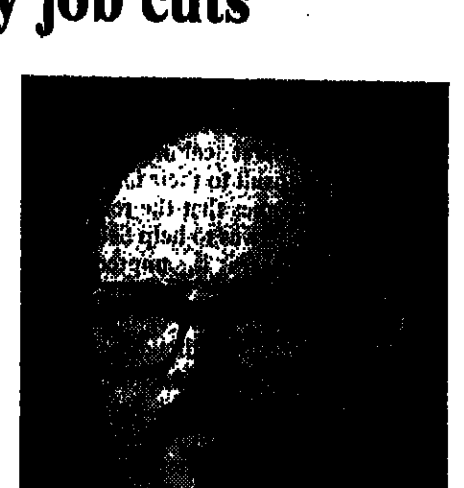
Though the DPG is essentially a civil service union (most postal workers have civil service status), 90 per cent of its members belong to the low and middle echelon. Many are shift workers.

Since a married postman with one child grosses only DM2,250 a month, including fringe benefits, van Haaren condemned as "fraud" the three month salary freeze Bonn put on the civil service.

Van Haaren, an SPD member since 1963, was the union's district chairman for Bremen/Weser-Ems before being elected to his present post.

After studying at the Dortmund Social Science Academy, he was appointed union secretary in Düsseldorf in 1964.

In 1978, he became secretary to the collective bargaining committee of the Frankfurt executive board where he headed the department for working conditions (1975 to 1977).


Kurt van Haaren . . . not just postal matters. (Foto: dpa)

Van Haaren has assumed his post at a time when, as his predecessor Ernst Breit puts it, the postal union is "walking a tightrope".

The possibilities in electronic communications could mean death in instalments for traditional postal work.

Van Haaren agrees with Breit that the postal service can only be run on social, not commercial principles. It must resist any tendencies toward a private enterprise approach because of its special social and labour market responsibilities.

These responsibilities mean two things for van Haaren. First, the postal service must not yield to the political demand that one per cent of civil service posts be eliminated. Had the postal authority done this this year, says van Haaren, it would have been unable to create an additional 6,000 jobs that were made possible due to SPD efforts in the Bundestag.

Instead, there would have been 4,500 fewer jobs. And the postal authority would have had 10,500 jobs fewer to offer today.

The postal authority must continue to make full use of its fine training facilities, "if necessary, making them available to others."

Second, van Haaren sees the postal authority's responsibility and with it that of the DPG as extending far beyond narrow postal confines.

Because the authority is important as a buyer from private industry, it has an effect on the development of new technologies that lead to sweeping rationalisation in all sectors.

He points to a DGB congress on "Electronics and Work" for which the union commissioned Bochum University to present a study on the effects of postal investments on other branches of industry.

"Experience shows that any form of rationalisation destroys jobs. Rather than create new ones of its own accord we always have to fight for them," he says.

Jobless might well rise to three or even four million in the 1980s. Therefore the role of trade unions should be reviewed.

The problems could not be solved with common sense because "those who can rally the least power and pack the

Continued on page 7

■ COMMUNICATION

Giving the East bloc a dose of the news

Radio Free Europe (RFE) in Munich was given maximum security protection during President Reagan's visit to Germany.

An attack was made on RFE in February 1981 when "unknown experts" planted a bomb at the height of the Polish upheaval that ended with martial law.

It was Poland that made RFE the target of a barrage of propaganda attacks as far back as 1980, although the radio station has been a thorn in the flesh for the communists since it began operations 30 years ago.

The guiding principle of RFE stems from Lenin, who once said: "Ideas are weapons."

RFE kept a close watch and reported extensively on the Polish people's bid to establish a free trade union from the first mooting of the idea to its abrupt end on 13 December 1981 when martial law was imposed. Lenin could not have reckoned with the far-reaching consequences of his maxim.

The idea of penetrating the Iron Curtain through a private radio station was born in 1948. News was being suppressed in Eastern Europe, so the aim was to spread it in the languages of the region.

Among RFE's founders was General Lucius D. Clay, the hero of the Berlin Airlift.

Ever since, RFE, in conjunction with Radio Liberty, has been reaching about 30 million listeners a week. While Radio Liberty (RL) beams its broadcasts to the USSR only, RFE broadcasts to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria.

The Washington Administration increased its 1981/82 subsidies for RFE and RL from US$98m to US$102m. President Reagan thus honoured his campaign promise to counter the Soviet influence on the radio front as well.

Washington never denied that the CIA had the say at RFE in the 1950s. But not after 1973 when the US Congress took control.

Many of RFE's 1,662 employees are émigrés. Naturally, that East bloc propaganda, steered by the Kremlin, uses this as a weapon. It calls RFE a "nest of feuding scorpions" that endangers peace and engages in espionage.

East bloc intelligence agencies frequently used to plant people at the station.

Half of RFE's broadcasting time is news obtained through perfectly normal channels. Journalists sift and analyse the press of Eastern Europe, they read reports by tourists and statements politicians make at conferences.

By spreading both Eastern and Western news, RFE keeps undermining the Soviet monopoly.

Hungarians are told what really happened in Gdansk; and Poles learn about Hungary's economic system, which is totally different from Poland's despite the political similarities.

Rumanians are told about the millions of parcels West Germans are sending to feed the Poles.

Attempts to seal off the East bloc are thwarted day after day.

Moscow intended to use the CSCE negotiations to put an end to RFE/RL along with the Voice of America, the East European broadcasts of the BBC and West Germany's *Deutsche Welle* (The Voice of Germany).

But the West remained unyielding. For a while it seemed as if the Soviet Union would stop jamming broadcasts from the West.

But no. The East bloc has stepped up spending to an annual US$200m on jamming. Only half that amount is spent on broadcasting.

When the Polish strikes began, the Soviets became jittery. Ten years earlier they had been defeated in their campaign to remove the "pirate stations" from the Federal Republic of Germany.

Then, the Hamburg-based weekly magazine *Stern* pointed to the fact that Chancellor Willy Brandt had expressed "reservations" about RFE/RL.

And SPD left-winger Karl-Heinz Hansen (since expelled from the party) said in a pamphlet that RFE was a "child of the Cold War".

But the dust settled and the present Schmidt-Genscher government in Bonn has never raised any objection to the annual renewal of the stations' licences by the Postal Authority.

Everything ran smoothly until the Polish events. Then, on 20 August 1981, the Soviets began jamming the stations, in violation of the CSCE Final Act.

The fact that the Munich stations reported so accurately on the development of Solidarity in Poland electrified the Kremlin.

Jamming stations on RFE's frequency for Poland were established not only by the Soviets but also by Czechoslovakia. The situation worsened still further when martial law was imposed.

Increasingly accurate listener surveys prove the worth of RFE. In Poland, the number of adult listeners who tuned in regularly dropped by 10.5 per cent to 36 per cent between November 1981 and January 1982 as a result of jamming.

In Czechoslovakia, the situation was reversed. Since Czechoslovakian jamming stations were used to keep the truth from the Poles and therefore became unavailable as jamming stations for Czechoslovakian listeners, the tune-in quota in Czechoslovakia rose from 32.5 per cent in November 1981 to 63 per cent in January 1982.

In Hungary, where there has been no jamming (neither before nor after the establishment of Solidarity), interest in Polish affairs led to a steep rise in the tune-in quota from 52 per cent in the autumn of 1981 to 61 per cent in January 1982.

The freedom movement in the summer of 1981 would not have spread as rapidly as it did had RFE (along with other Western stations) not conveyed to the people what Solidarity leaders actually said.

RFE also broadcast the unabridged texts of the sermons of Polish bishops.

But it also counselled moderation rather than inciting the people to rise, as East bloc propaganda maintains.

It turned out in August 1981 that there were a great many Polish journalists among RFE's listeners — many more than Warsaw had assumed. Hundreds of these newsmen were subsequently arrested or lost their jobs.

In June 1981, the Soviets demanded that the Polish Communist Party take action against RFE; and only a short while later Soviet media launched a massive campaign against the station.

Eight people were badly injured in the 21 February 1981 bomb attack on RFE, and subsequent repair costs amounted to DM8m. Communist propaganda later revived the bomb incident, blaming it first on the CIA and then on the emigrés.

Neues Deutschland, the official organ of East Germany's Communist Party, deplored the fact that many Poles openly said that they got the truth from RFE while Radio Warsaw told ever new lies.

The fact is that following the imposition of martial law, RFE extended its Polish broadcasts, but the added time was used to convey personal messages from Poles abroad to their relatives and friends at home.

RFE Information Director William G. Mahoney stresses that there has never been any "friction" with the German government.

"The people of Bavaria and their government are liberal and open-minded. They approve of our type of work."

Part of this work has also to report on President Reagan's visit to Germany.

Poland has meanwhile become hysterical in its campaign against RFE. The Polish state television has a series on the "espionage nest".

Zdzislaw Najder, author of an important work on Joseph Conrad, who was visiting the West and decided not to return home after the 13 December martial law, has been appointed head of the Polish service and has since come under particularly heavy attack.

A Swedish visitor to Gdansk recently asked a well-known Polish writer about the effects of the Polish TV campaign against RFE. The answer was: "It's hard to say because nobody has been watching TV since 13 December."

Jürgen Wahl
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 18 June 1982)

Shock horror result of radio survey

Simultaneous opinion surveys in Germany, Japan and the United States, commissioned by the Japanese *Nippon Hoso Kyokai* Broadcasting Corporation (NHK), have come up with some startling results.

Asked whether instructions by a superior should be carried out even if one does not agree with them, 75.9 per cent of the 1,680 interviewed Americans favoured carrying them out compared with 61.8 per cent of the 1,651 German respondents and only 51.3 per cent of the 2,544 Japanese.

The Germans have a reputation in Japan of being particularly strict in the upbringing of their children. A Japanese teaching German in an NHK TV language course in his latest book even went so far as to compare the upbringing of German children with the training of domestic animals.

But only 46.3 per cent of the Germans interviewed in this opinion sampling (compared with 68.9 per cent of the Japanese and 77.5 per cent of the Americans) agreed with the view that what the young of today need is above all a firm hand.

But the Japanese view does not tally with realities and might be due to wishful thinking because in fact Japanese children — especially when they are small — are permitted to get away with just about anything.

Before a Japanese child reaches kindergarten age it can do pretty much what it wants. When a baby cries, the mother instantly checks the nappy. And when all's well there, the baby is given something to drink or eat — at any time of day or night.

The Japanese would regard German mothers who try to train their children to stick to fixed feeding times and nappy changes as being cruel.

Japanese mothers try to fulfil all their children's wishes. The same applies to Japanese fathers, who go out of their way to be tolerant and patient.

Life does not begin in earnest for Japanese children until they are sent to kindergarten and meet with other equally spoiled little princes and princesses. This is the first time they have to learn to adapt and obey.

There are also considerable differences in the attitudes towards work and leisure time.

Asked which of the two gave them most satisfaction, the majority (49.4 per cent to the Germans and 45.1 per cent of the Japanese) said that they derived the same satisfaction from both (in this context, work included housework and studying).

But from here on the views diverge. The next biggest group of Japanese (30,9 per cent) opted for work while 27.5 per cent of the Germans favoured leisure time activities.

But only 12.5 per cent of the German respondents derived their satisfaction from work compared with 36.5 per cent of the Americans, who lead in this group.

The Americans, however, almost equal the Germans in favouring leisure time activities (27 per cent).

Asked what professional career they prefer (regardless of their present work), the majority of Japanese and Americans opted for a profession in which they could make the most of their abilities.

The majority of Germans, on the other hand, favoured a profession with the greatest possible job security. This shows that the spectre of joblessness is felt more acutely by the Germans than by the Americans (although America has a higher unemployment rate) or the Japanese (with their relatively low unemployment, at least according to official Japanese statistics).

Job security took third place among the Japanese and American respondents (13.1 and 10.6 per cent respectively).

The majority of Germans and Japanese opted for a TV set if they had to spend two to three months without one of five things. The Americans, on the other hand, said they would take a refrigerator. The second option was the same for Germans and Americans: an automobile. The Japanese opted for a newspaper.

The survey also confirmed that Japan's reputation of being a male society is warranted. 60 per cent of the Japanese respondents considered men more capable than women (compared with 24 per cent of the Germans and 18.8 per cent of the Americans).

The view that the man should be the master of the household is also most

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■ FINANCE

The nervous wait for better times

The most persistent bottleneck of the post-war era is how Professor Olaf Sievert, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, described the Federal Republic of Germany's current economic situation.

Industrial production has been stagnating for close to two years though it has not declined markedly. The overall economic picture shows no deterioration that would warrant the term recession, let alone depression.

But the wait for an upturn is enervating — especially since nobody can tell where it is supposed to come from. The consumer cannot be counted on because his income has been declining continuously and he is not borrowing to offset it. On the contrary, consumer credit has been going down and retail sales along with it.

The situation in the business community is pretty much the same. Many firms earn less and are making up for it by reducing costs.

They also make a point of keeping as little (expensive) money tied up in stocks as possible.

Diminishing earnings in conjunction with pessimism on future sales have had a negative effect on investments.

What remains is the export sector, which is in full bloom. Due to moderate wage deals, which lag far behind those in other industrial countries, and favoured by a cheap deutschemark that has made German goods attractively *priced, industry has been exporting for all it is worth.*

Current export successes are reminiscent of earlier periods when the Germans were put in the dock as a disruptive element in international trade.

Foreign demand has somewhat diminished in the past few weeks. The revaluation of the deutschemark as part of the realignment of exchange rates in the European Monetary System and the simultaneous devaluation of the French franc have detracted from the edge Germany had against its competitors.

But the realignment does little more than offset the difference in inflation rates. It is certainly no death knell for German exports, our most reliable economic pillar.

Even so, exports failed to impart the decisive impulse for a general economic upturn.

This is not surprising considering that most companies have only just managed to offset losses on the domestic market through their exports.

The booming export business at the moment has prevented a recession but it cannot fulfill both functions: make up for the shortfall of domestic sales and at the same time retain enough strength to boost the economy as a whole.

Despite our marked export surpluses, most branches of industry under use their production capacities. As a result, they see no need to build new production facilities to cope with orders. This makes it obvious that exports alone cannot spark a new boom.

This simple economic fact is frequently papered over with complicated lines of argument.

There is a serious discussion in progress as to whether Bonn's investment subsidy has done more harm than the various resolutions of the Munich party congress of the SPD.

Both these elements play a lesser role than some people would make us believe.

The investment subsidy will only lead to a concentration of investment spending during the period covered by the subsidy.

Businessmen making their feasibility studies are also unlikely to be influenced by the uncertainties of the Bonn coalition. *After all, why should they regard* a CDU/CSU-FDP government as a spectre?

The more important aspect is the hampering of business initiative through costs, taxes, levies and red tape, say supply-side economists.

They demand that the position of the business community by eased by a rollback of state and labour demands.

This is being heeded to some extent by moderate wage deals and attempts to rehabilitate public sector budgets to some extent. But these moves are not based on theoretical considerations; the reason for them is simply that they make sense and that there is no other practical option anyway.

The supply-side theory suits the business community although it tends to overlook that the same theory calls for a more active role on the part of business.

Under this theory, the businessman is expected to help get the economy off the ground by putting new products on the market, by summoning the courage to invest in the future and by not waiting *for demand for his run-of-the-mill* products to come his way.

He is expected to hire more people, raise his output and trigger demand by putting his goods on the market.

But this type of ideal entrepreneur is still a rarity. Many bankruptcies are simply due to the fact that companies have missed the technology boat; which also accounts for thousands of lost jobs.

Such companies are certainly no example of modern supply-side economics.

On the other hand, the state has given up its regulating function. It no longer stimulates demand through tax relief and investment programmes financed by borrowing because it can no longer afford to do so.

This being so, it will take some time before the economy picks up again. And when this happens there will be plenty of people claiming credit for it.

Gerhard Meyenburg

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 15 June 1982)

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prevalent in Japan. Close to half of the Japanese respondents said that the final decision in case of differences of views should be made by the husband. And 80.3 per cent of the Japanese believed that women must marry (compared with 46 per cent of the Germans and 33 per cent of Americans).

45 per cent of the Japanese (the same quota as with Americans) opposed premarital sex for women compared with only 10 per cent of Germans.

The Germans have a remarkably sceptical view of themselves. Only 10.9 per cent said that Germans were more talented and capable than other nations (compared with 28.9 per cent of Americans).

The Japanese, on the other hand, considered their own people as being more capable than others (56.8 per cent).

However, only 40 per cent of the Germans consider it good to learn from other nations (compared with 68 per cent of Japanese and 78 per cent of the American respondents).

The Americans take the cake in matters of patriotism. 58 per cent consider love of their country their foremost duty (compared with 49 per cent of the Japanese and 18 per cent of the Germans).

90.7 per cent of the American respondents said they believed in God. The figure for the Germans was 58.7 per cent and for the Japanese 54.3 per cent.

Gebhard Hielscher

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 16 June 1982)

Fed Rep Germany's trade with the East

In DM billions

1971 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 1981

EXPORTS: 5.3, 7.1, 9.9, 14.6, 15.9, 15.7, 15.4, 15.5, 15.9, 17.2, 17.1

IMPORTS: 4.4, 4.9, 6.2, 7.8, 8.0, 10.2, 10.6, 11.7, 14.9, 15.7, 17.4

Imports from / Exports to

Russia 9.2 / 7.6

Poland 2.1 / 2.2

Czech. 2.1 / 2.0

Hungary 2.0 / 2.7

Rumania 1.5 / 1.5

Bulgaria 1.0

4305

Anger at US bid to hit supplies for gas-pipeline project

There is anger in Europe over the American sanctions decision aimed at hitting the gas-for-pipes project which would bring Russian gas to Europe.

American subsidiaries abroad are now banned from supplying oil and gas equipment directly to the Soviet Union and from supplying parts to Western European firms for use in the project.

Foreign companies abroad also are banned from supplying goods made by them under American licence.

Until now, only American companies were involved in the sanctions.

Talks are taking place between Bonn and Washington, but Bonn spokesman Klaus Bölling said the outlook was uncertain.

The ban would have a serious effect on AEG-Telefunken, which is involved in the project and is already in major trouble.

The Bonn government is highly critical of the decision. Bölling said it would be difficult for AEG-Telefunken to meet its contractual obligations.

This could lead to layoffs both at the company and among suppliers.

The Bonn government, he said in a prepared statement, had made it clear from the very beginning that it intended to honour its pipeline deal with the Soviet Union.

The extension of sanctions to include American subsidiaries abroad and already concluded contracts would have to be carefully reviewed in legal terms, he said. He did not exclude the possibility that the matter would be put before the International Court of Justice.

Bölling stressed that the American decision was at odds with the Bonn Nato declaration and the trade policy recommendations drafted at the economic summit in Versailles.

After the Versailles conference Chancellor Schmidt expressly welcomed the fact that the conference had prevented an East-West trade war, Bölling said.

The subsequent review of this agreement came as a surprise to Bonn. "We had no reason to anticipate such a decision," he said.

The Bonn government will now consider guarantees for AEG-Telefunken in a rescue bid for the company.

Bundestag Economic Affairs Committee member Uwe Jens (SPD) called the stiffening of the US trade embargo a relapse into a policy governed by national egoism.

The United States continued to supply grain to the Soviet Union, but the latest US measure would impair Europe's trade with the Soviet Union. AEG had really been made to totter.

According to SPD Executive Committee spokesman Wolfgang Clement, the *Bundesausschuss der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Arbeitnehmerfragen* (AfA) — national committee of work groups for labour issues — of the SPD has unanimously passed a resolution expressing outrage.

He said he regarded the unilateral extension of US sanctions to include European companies as an interference in internal European affairs and a mockery of the principles of European-American partnership.

The AfA, he said, supported the Chancellor's policy of honouring the deal with the Soviet Union and resisting all attempts to thwart it.

The economic affairs spokesman of the FDP Bundestag group, Helmut Haussmann, has said that the extension had raised doubts about the predictability of American foreign trace policy.

The National Federation of German Industry (BDI) reacted with dismay to the fact that the US embargo decision was made without prior consultation.

It says it contradicts the economic policy line agreed in Versailles.

The fact that European companies are forced to violate contracts would be prejudicial, and the extension of national US legislation to Europe could endanger existing trade arrangements.

The BDI shares the apprehension of American companies who fear that the decision could damage the credibility of US business.

(Rheinische Post, 22 June 1982)

■ DEVELOPMENT AID

Europe accused of not doing enough and trying to cover up inactivity

European countries have come under strong criticism for not doing enough to relieve world hunger.

The European Assembly in Strasbourg overwhelmingly passed a document which condemned EEC efforts in many parts of the world.

During a debate, a German Liberal Euro-MP, Ulrich Irmer, said: "There is enough money and there are enough programmes. What is lacking is the political resolve to put sensible programmes into practice."

German Social Democrat Katharina Focke said too little had been done and it had taken too long.

European MPs of all parties largely agreed in condemning the Common Market countries, the Council of Ministers and the European Commission for not doing enough.

They accepted a report by Belgian Christian Democrat Victor Michel which matter-of-factly listed shortcomings in EEC bids to counter famine.

Problems have grown worse, not better, since the approval of the Ferrero resolution in September 1980 calling for a number of specific measures to improve the food situation of the developing countries.

The number of people suffering from malnutrition in the world is estimated to be roughly 750 million, with about 25 million or so a year dying of hunger.

Both the European Commission and Ministers responsible for development aid had embarked on a flurry of activity before the debate to divert attention from their virtual inactivity for the past 18 months.

A week before the debate, and with the debate in mind, as Brussels Eurocrats readily admitted, the Commission submitted a special 184 million ECU (about DM341m) programme to fight world hunger.

The day before the debate the Ten's Ministers for development aid agreed on measures to improve coordination of Community aid to the developing countries.

Their aim was partly to incorporate food aid in overall economic development, with aid being given on the strict understanding that recipients run their own anti-poverty programmes.

The Belgian president of the Council of Ministers, Paul de Keersmaeker, outlined to the European Assembly the many moves, small and negligible, since the Ferrero resolution.

He failed to impress the Euro-MPs. Edgar Pisani, the French EEC commissioner with responsibility for development affairs, made a speech that met with more approval.

M. Pisani, who said he was not going to engage in wailing and gnashing of teeth merely for the sake of popularity, warned against seemingly generous gestures of aid motivated merely by ephemeral considerations.

They were, he said, no substitute for fundamental action. Frau Focke and most other speakers agreed.

Several speakers noted that food aid given as alms by the rich, with the convenient side-effect of eliminating Common Market farm surpluses, would not necessarily make a lasting improvement to the world food situation.

This showed that Euro-MPs are taking seriously the growing criticism levelled by development experts at food aid.

British Tory MEP Christopher Jackson said permanent food aid often tending to prevent the development of efficient agricultural production in the receiving country.

The Michel Report noted that food aid is not a long-term solution for world hunger.

But unlike the European Commission, it said food aid must be stepped up until the developing countries could boost agricultural output on their own.

No-one disputed the need for food aid to combat famine after war or natural disasters.

The Commission, the Council of Ministers and the Assembly also agreed on the principle that food aid was necessary but should merely supplement aid to help the developing countries to step up domestic agricultural output.

But views differed widely on how much had been done with the developing countries to work out strategies to combat world hunger.

The report concedes that the Council of Ministers and the European Commission have given the development policy demands made by the Assembly frequent attention.

It also allows that a number of essential resolutions have been adopted. But it is strongly critical of the failure of European politicians to adopt a global strategy.

"Many analyses, statements and suggestions for solutions have been drawn up and submitted," the report concludes, "but the Community has yet to stand the test as such."

Uwe Vorkötter

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 22 June 1982)

Drop in German aid

DM billions

Government 7.2

Total 18.3 (down 9.4 % on 1980)

Business 8.7

Source BMWZ

Other public aid 1.5

Other private money (eg unions, churches) 0.9

imu 82 08 12

Agriculture fund gets its cash

Bonn has ensured for the time being the survival of the UN International Fund for Agricultural Development by finally agreeing to pay the German contribution.

Economic Cooperation Minister Rainer Offergeld gave in person to IFAD president Al-Sudeary the undertaking to pay Bonn's $117m contribution.

Why is Bonn less unwilling to underwrite IFAD when it is more than chary of bankrolling other UN organisations? Because, Herr Offergeld said, it was doing the right work in concentrating on small farmers and the landless poor.

It is required to by the terms of its constitution, and there is more to Bonn's readiness in this instance than meets the eye.

IFAD is the first UN organisation in which the industrialised countries, Opec and the other developing countries each have an equal say. For the first time a UN organisation is not bound by the seemingly inevitably majorities enjoyed by the Group of 77.

Besides, Bonn feels squabbles over a few million dollars are of minor importance in comparison with the opportunity of allowing the Opec countries to share development responsibility.

The United States has yet to agree, and IFAD could come a cropper if Congress refuses to approve payment of the US contribution. Bonn has reserved the right to review its commitment if this happens.

Johannes von Dohnanyi

(Vorwärts, 24 June 1982)

New postal workers' chief

Continued from page 4

least clout will perish — that's free market economy."

The social mastering of technical developments means that the postal authority must retain its absolute monopoly over all electronic communications networks, says van Haaren.

Communications must not be left to market forces because the citizen's right to undisrupted communications is as worthy of protection as "health, education and internal security."

Van Haaren sees the danger in the profit motivation of private interests.

How can this danger of "privatisation" can be countered? "we are still in the process of thinking," says van Haaren.

His new deputy, Klaus-Dieter Zemlin, was a shadow cabinet member in Richard von Weizsäcker's 1979 Berlin campaign.

Born in 1929, Zemlin's union career started with DPG youth work. Since 1948 he has been a member of the DPG. Ever since the DPG went national in 1949, the deputy chairman has traditionally been a CDU man.

Zemlin joined the CDU in 1950, and in 1980 became deputy national chairman of the Work Group of Christian Democratic DGB Trade Unionists of the CDU Social Affairs Committees.

Wolf Günter Brügmann

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 23 June 1982)

■ MIGRANTS

Seminar looks at integration, Koran schools and social problems



Koran schools for Turkish children in Germany are not doing what they claim to be doing, a seminar on race relations has been told.

The aim of most of them was to re-Islamise the Turkish community along Khomeini lines and make sure that Turks maintained a separate identity, said a Turkish delegate.

Teoman Atalay, a leader of the Turkish community in Hanover, said that only four out of 400 Koran schools did what they said they did.

He called on the German authorities to take some action.

The schools should be inspected. They should be made to register and staff teaching qualifications should be checked.

The seminar was organised by the Roman Catholic Adult Education Association of the Saar and the Protestant Academy. Both are strongly opposed, as are their church leaderships, to inflexible regulations on wives joining their husbands in Germany and vice-versa.

There are many complicated problems relating to migrant workers and their families. So not surprisingly the debate swayed between legal arguments, humanitarian considerations, and what must, should or might be done.

It was generally agreed that Germany is only just starting to get to grips with the problem.

Slogans and methods aimed at drastic solutions will do nothing but cause unrest and jeopardise domestic security, it was agreed.

The seminar also felt there was no alternative to integrating foreign residents, which was primarily an educational problem, and a two-way one.

There was much misunderstanding. A distinction must be drawn between the 1.2 million people from other EEC countries and the 2.5 million from countries where migrant workers used to be recruited.

EEC nationals are entitled by the Treaty of Rome to live and work where they want in the Common Market countries. They cannot just be sent packing.

There was also debate on applicants for political asylum, who were often regarded as welfare state scroungers.

They were increasing an already-growing dislike of foreigners.

"They talk about the foreigner problem," said Atalay. "What they mean are the Turks."

Dr Cemil Kivanc, a Münster University lecturer, puts it another way: "Turkish workers are an alien body in highly industrialised German society."

Besides, he says, the 1.5 million Turks are themselves unenthusiastic about integrating.

Both men accused the Bonn and state governments of having neither an integration programme nor a policy on foreign residents.

Alfred Oeffner, public relations officer of the Bonn Labour Ministry's aliens department, was clearly told that no-one was keen on a policy of merely administering the problem.

Bonn, he said, was guided by two principles. It favoured social integration but was opposed to new arrivals, who would inevitably rock the boat.

The boat, he said, was full. If it were to be overloaded it would be sure to capsize. Integration would became much more difficult.

The 4.6 million foreigners now in the Federal Republic make up 7.5 per cent of the population. Half the nearly 800,000 foreign children are Turks. Their failure at school threatens to lead, as Bonn sees it, to the emergence of a new sub-proletariat and a hotbed of social unrest.

Only 51 per cent of migrant workers' children (and only 30 to 40 per cent of Turks) pass school-leaving certificates and only a handful find an apprenticeship or job training.

At the end of last September only eight per cent of foreign juveniles (and only three per cent of Turkish school-leavers under 18) had apprenticeships.

So it is hardly surprising Herr Oeffner says there is a grave need for education integration.

But Turks at the seminar insisted on the need for families to be reunited. Atalay referred to Article 6 of Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, which states that marriage and the family are to enjoy special protection.

He also said it was high time foreign residents were entitled, as taxpayers, to vote, at least in local elections.

Herr Oeffner replied that very few Turks applied for naturalisation as Germans. The special rights guaranteed by the constitution applied first and foremost to Germans.

But most foreigners wanted the best of both worlds: equal rights at home and in the Federal Republic. This led to permanent conflict.

Mr Atalay, an electrician who has lived and worked in Hanover for 22 years, was equally upset about the inactivity of German authorities on Koran schools for Turkish children.

The organisations that ran them, he said, and they included the Süleymani movement, the National View Movement and the National Salvation Party, were busy torpedoing German bids to integrate the Turks.

Their aim was to re-Islamise the Turkish community along Khomeini lines and to ensure that Turks retained a separate national identity to the exclusion of ties with their host nation.

He called on German authorities to inspect Koran schools, to make it obligatory for them to register and to check the qualifications of the teaching staff.

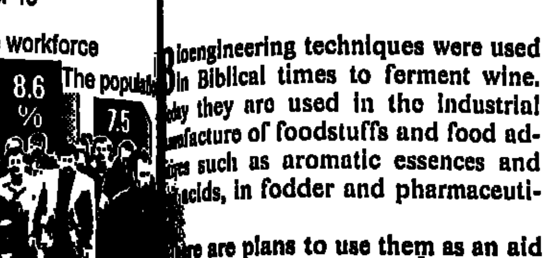
This was a short-term need. In the medium term religious instruction in Islam would need to be provided at German schools to make Koran schools superfluous.

If Islam were granted official recognition as a religion, he said, teachers could be supplied by Turkey. A countrywide Islamic foundation ought first to be set up as an intermediary to represent Mohammedans in talks with Bonn and the state governments.

Mr Atalay said Turks would be unable to integrate in German society until the Koran schools had forfeited their influence.

Dr Kivanc was similarly worried about political activities. He said the isolation of the Turkish community need not mean they were not interested in integration.

Yet six out of 10 would like to return home sooner or later, usually to set up in business on their own. Their savings were seldom enough, however, because of Turkey's galloping inflation.



This particular problem was aggravated by the higher cost of living in Germany brought about by having families join the breadwinner here.

Might the solution be to offer repatriation bonuses based on social security contributions and paid in a lump sum to enable returnees to set up in business?

A survey in the Hanover area by a Turkish newspaper has shown that there is widespread interest in this idea among the Turkish community.

But Dr Kivanc feels that most Turkish workers will postpone their return for as long as jobs are still available in Germany.

Uncertainties

It was not just that they felt fine in Germany. Social safeguards and schooling and vocational training opportunities for the children were a further asset.

They found it hard to plan their future because of uncertainty as to the political and economic prospects of Turkey.

Besides, few were qualified to set up in business back home; nearly 70 per cent of Turkish workers in Germany were unskilled workmen.

The Turkish authorities alone could hope to alleviate the situation: by promoting cooperatives. Then only would reintegration stand any real chance of succeeding.

The next generation was the main problem, with both countries still insisting on children preparing for integration and reintegration.

In effect this policy prevented them from fully integrating in the country where, at least for the time being, they happened to live.

Turkish youngsters were seldom interested in naturalisation, Dr Kivanc said. Despite the financial loss many preferred to do military service in Turkey.

He felt the prospects of integration and assimilation were better for the third and fourth generations. German civilisation exerted a powerful influence outside the bounds of the family.

This brought the discussion back to the problem of reuniting families. To what extent was it socially justified and responsible?

Arno Krause sought to pour oil on troubled waters by calling for an end to the feeling that society owed people a living, both Germans and foreign residents.

"You can only share out what you have earned," he said.

Günter Kleer

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 23 June 1982)

Children who are cooped up, isolated and uncared for



Turkish children in Germany suffer from being cooped up in housing that is too small; from isolation; and from often inadequate medical care.

How migrant workers' children are brought up is being probed in Frankfurt and Nuremberg. Initial findings have just been published in Bonn.

The report, commissioned by the Family Affairs Ministry, says sub-standard housing is a major factor.

In small and overcrowded apartments the children do not have room to move and are often kept in bed.

Their mothers suffer from loneliness. They feel the lack of an extended family to fall back on, especially with their first child. Back home the family would both help and encourage them.

Medical checks are made too infrequently, mainly because of language difficulties.

Turkish families often fail to see why the children should regularly see doctors. Medical advice on handling drugs also badly needs improving.

It is not just that Turkish families cannot understand the instructions on the packet. Language difficulties make it more difficult to ensure that difficulties make it more difficult to ensure that children are fed a balanced diet.

Both parents usually have to work hard to make ends meet, so babies are looked after by a child-minder. If the child-minders are Germans there will often be disagreements over upbringing.

In several cases, Turkish parents have felt they had no choice but to send the children back home to Turkey to be cared for by relatives.

Experimental courses on subjects ranging from German to personal counselling and exercises for baby have been run to help Turkish wives and mothers cope with bringing up children in an alien environment.

The Federal Health Education Centre in Cologne has published two health brochures in Turkish.

dpa

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 16 June 1982)

RESEARCH

Bioengineering: yesterday's technique for tomorrow's technology

Bioengineering techniques were used in Biblical times to ferment wine. ...y they are used in the industrial ...ufacture of foodstuffs and food ad...ives such as aromatic essences and ...acids, in fodder and pharmaceuti...

...re are plans to use them as an aid ...racting crude oil from under the ...d.

...ey are also growing increasingly ...portant in recycling and sewage puri...ation.

In the pharmaceutical and chemical ...stries micro-organisms hold down ...dy jobs. Many drugs may be easier ... synthesize but a number of steps, ...h as complex molecular transforma...s of steroid hormones, are best left ...the metabolism of micro-organisms.

In sewage treatment, bioengineering ...s long held its own in settling ponds ...d septic tanks.

Professor H. Sahm of Jülich nuclear ...search centre outlined to a Giessen ...niversity meeting details of a process ...r purifying industrial effluent with a ...gh organic compound count in a ...anner environmentally sound and ...ving energy.

He said it could be used at the purify...g plant of breweries and distilleries, at ...sewage works run by food manufactu...rs and, especially, by cellulose facto...ies.

Unlike sludge digestion using aerobic ...teria (the kind that need oxygen),



Professor Sahm's effluent purification would take place anaerobically in closed tanks.

This has the advantage of enclosed fermentation, which almost elinates unpleasant smells. Effluent with up to 15 per cent organic solids can also be fed undiluted into the plant.

Neither is there the expensive outlay on energy that would otherwise be needed to keep the sludge constantly supplied with oxygen.

Instead the micro-organisms, mainly methanosarcin bacteria, largely convert organic waste into biogas (methane and carbon dioxide).

This means that the new biological sewage plant can largely or entirely meet its own energy requirements.

The large amounts of biogas are attributable to the fact that anaerobic bacteria make only limited use of the energy in the effluent.

Aerobic bacteria in sewage rich in nutrient grow fast and generate large quantities of biomass, or sewage sludge. In this respect anaerobic bacteria work roughly 25 times slower.

They use only five per cent of the energy contained in organic waste to build up their own body substance. Between 90 and 95 per cent is released as biogas with a calorific value of between 5,000 and 6,000 kilocalories per cubic metre of gas.

Sewage plants of this kind could become extremely important in the cellulose industry, which produces about 120 million tons of effluent a year in Europe.

This effluent includes six to seven per cent of sulphuric compounds of lignine. At least 90 per cent of residual acetic acid and furfural and other substances that remain after conventional treatment can be eliminated by the mighty microbe.

To accelerate the process the concentration of micro-organisms in the tank must be kept at as high a level as possible.

Because they grow so slowly they must either be retrieved from purified water or retained in, say, a sand pillar.

Flocculation is another promising process. Bacteria in flakes are retained in the tank by the force of gravity. But this process is for the time being suitable for industrial use only.

Micro-organisms could be harnessed not only to process energy-rich compounds but also to gain access to energy reserves that cannot yet be tapped.

Professor F. Wagner of Brunswick University of Technology dealt with possibilities of extracting petroleum with the aid of bacteria.

Conventional processes extract only about a third of the oil in a deposit, which is why scientists have for years been probing possibilities of what is called tertiary production.

In primary production the oil is brought to the surface by natural pressure, as one envisages a gusher. In secondary production it is extracted by means of artificial pressure, such as that of water pumped into the seam.

The aim of tertiary production is to retrieve oil deposits compounded in the geological formation. The greater the viscosity of the oil, the better this can be done.

Trials concentrate on heating the oil *in situ*, either by pumping down hot water and steam or by deliberately burning oil underground.

The crude oil is also often made more liquid by pumping down carbon dioxide.

Oil spillage aid

Now the aim is to loosen the oil by using bacteria. Bids to harness specific bacteria for extracting crude oil have been under way for several years.

An American research scientist, for example, has cultivated mutant bacteria to extract oil from bituminous sand.

If this technique were to prove practically effective beaches fouled after tanker accident could at least partly be cleared of oil.

Bituminous sand in a number of fields could be processed to yield oil.

The Brunswick research scientists are experimenting with Rhodococcus bacteria, which can thrive on a diet of hydrocarbon from the oil.

The bacteria contain a non-ionic tenside, or glycolipid, in their outer cell

Continued on page 10

Bugs are the answer where ore is difficult to mine

Bacterial leaching is to be used to mine residual ore in an area in the ...z mountains where conventional ...chniques can no longer be used.

Preussag have laid much of the ...oundwork and hope soon to start trial ...ning with funds from the Bonn go...rnment's commodity research pro...amme.

If the experiment in the Rammels...g area near Goslar works, between ... and two million tons of ore will be ...ed by bacteria without the rock hav...g to be moved at all.

Bacteria leaching of metallic ore is ...a widely used technique. The mic...s normally used are bacteria that ...rally occur in rifts and crevices of ...-bearing rock such as Thiobacillus ...-oxydans.

Their metabolism ensures that seepa...water in the deposits grow strongly ... The ores are usually sulphuric ...pounds from which sulphuric acid ...nerated in which many metals dis...

The microbes are put to work both in ...already mined or in promising slag ...s and in the seam. In the United ...s about 200,000 tons of copper a ... are mined in this way.

That is about 12 per cent of US cop... production. Bacterial leaching is ...practised in the Soviet Union, Aus...a and France (where it is used to ...e uranium).

...ials have been made in the Federal ...blic of Germany for some time by ...Federal Geosciences and Commodi...s Research Institute in Hanover.

What scientists have in mind is min... subterranean deposits of copper ...le in Hesse, where millions of tons ... copper are lying in wait.

But these deposits are either so dep or so low in metal content that conventional mining is uneconomic. To let microbes do the work is a tempting idea.

The idea is to drill a hole down to the ore strata and send down microbes specially bred to handle copper shale. They dissolve the copper ore, which then need only to be pumped to the surface.

It is a fine idea but it will be a long time before the technique is commercially practicable.

Wilhelm Schwarz of Brunswick University of Technology is working on a slightly different project. He is using bacteria that do not live on sulphur oxydation.

His bacteria rely instead on other energy sources, such as organic carbon compounds. So they have to be continually fed while working down below.

They generate less powerful acids, such as citric and oxalic acid, in which certain metals dissolve. Schwarz has in mind leaching high-grade metals such as uranium or silicious nickel ore.

But bacteria leaching using these bacteria is going to be expensive because the microbes will need to be fed continually, even if they are only fed cheap waste, such as spent lye.

So the ores to be extracted must be worth the expense. This technique is still at the development stage.

Microbes were first used by the German mining industry less to mine metal than for environmental reasons in connection with Rammelsberg, which has the oldest mine workings in Central Europe.

They have been worked for over 1,000 years and are now virtually empty. The older workings have been abandoned since the mid-19th century.

The new workings are still being mined, but in about seven years they too will be empty. The water that runs through the workings will continue running.

It is acid and has a high metal content, due to sulphur-eating bacteria long having discovered that Rammelsberg was a great place for a feed.

About 150 litres of water a minute come out of the mountain. It contains several grams of zinc and up to 200 milligrams of copper per litre.

This concentration is too low to retrieve the metal but too high to allow the water to flow into the grid for decades. So ways of collecting and purifying it were sought.

Preussag research scientists hit on the idea of enriching the metal effluent until the point at which extraction was worthwhile.

Their idea is to collect the water and pump it back down the mine to where untapped seams of ore are felt to exist, mainly in the uncharted mediaval workings.

They were not worked systematically and are likely to contain pillars of ore as pit props and cave-ins and left-overs that miners of yesteryear abandoned because, say, they contained too little copper and silver and too much zinc.

These old workings are riddled with galleries and shafts. They are an ideal home for metal-eating microbes. All the bacteria need to extract even more metal is a regular supply of oxygen.

This much is clear. No-one has yet decided how best to ensure the supply.

Experiments have been conducted with various species of bacteria in the hope of finding particularly hard-working varieties. But experiments have now been abandoned.

The bacteria that already flourish down Rammelsberg are so well suited to their environment that they best dissolve the ore and extract the metal.

So Preussag have decided to call on their services to get out worthwhile quantities of metal. The ore contains an average 11 per cent of zinc, five per cent of lead and one per cent of copper.

The one to two million tons of ore it is hoped to extract with the aid of the microbe should thus yield several hundred thousand tons of zinc and tens of thousands of tons of copper.

Conventional mining at Rammelsberg today totals a mere 270,000 tons a year.

Harald Steinert

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 23 June 1982)

■ SHIPPING

Indonesia looks to a new age of sail



Indonesia is still a sailing ships' paradise. Between 10 and 20 per cent of inter-island cargo is still handled by small wooden-hulled freighters under sail carrying from 50 to 100 tons.

But the country plans to introduce larger and more up-to-date sailing ships with mechanised rigging.

Hamburg Shipbuilding Research Institute and the department of shipbuilding at Hamburg University are doing the research and development.

The project is jointly sponsored by Indonesia and the Bonn Research and Technology Ministry.

There are no plans for revolutionary sailing ship technology. Conventional rigging is to be modernised.

The Hamburg shipbuilders are concentrating on schooner rigging, which runs the length of the vessel. Schooner-rigged ships can cruise better against the wind than square-sailed vessels.

Sails can also be handled more easily and with less danger on deck. Crews have to climb up the masts to rig square sails.

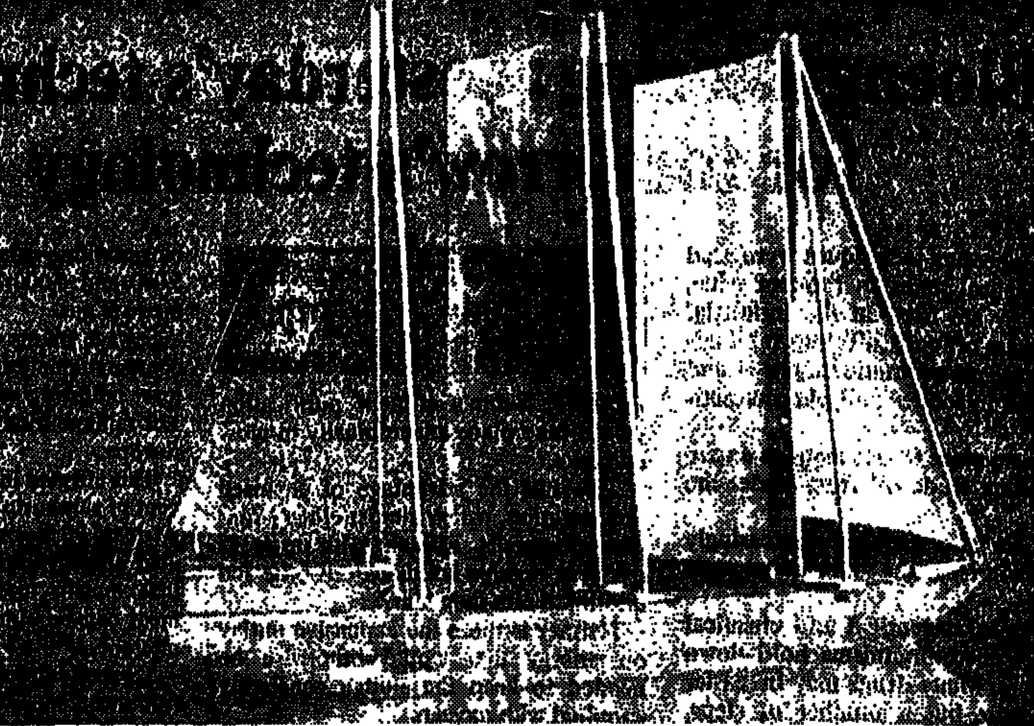
Extensive wind tunnel testing has been made on models with a variety of sail shapes. The sails are made out metal. The square gaffsail, held in position by booms above and below, has been found to be better that the triangular sails. The latter, preferred by yachtsmen, have a boom below and run up to the mast above. The solution to the rigging problem proved to be a design using gaffsails rigged to several masts.

This is necessary because the size of individual gaffsails is limited and the large new sailing ships planned for Indonesia will need plenty of sail.

What the country has in mind is a fleet of sailing freighters with cargo capacities of between 800 and 2,200 tons (or substantially more than the present units) and three to five masts.

The prototype is scheduled to be built next year. Its capacity will be 1,400 tons and it will carry 1,600 square metres of sail on four masts.

Three masts will have 400-square-metre gaffsails. There will be a triangular headsail fore and aft.



Sheet metal sails for wind-tunnel tests in Hamburg. (Photo: Institut für Schiffbau)

400-square-metre sails are unusually large. Schooners today, which mainly sail on tour or as private yachts, have sails not larger than 100 to 200 square metres.

Probably the largest sails ever used in commercial shipping were those of the *Preussen*, the largest sailing ship in the world, a square-sailed ship with roughly 300 square metres of lower sails.

Rigging is mechanised to make handling easier. Sails are rolled on to a rotating pole and can be raised or lowered by turning the pole.

This makes it possible to rig exactly the amount of sail required. The mast roller principle is already used in modern yachts. It would need to be applied on a much larger scale.

If rigging is to be mechanised the upper boom, or gaff, must run parallel to the lower, main boom on board gaff schooners. This has not been customary in the past and may well not be the most satisfactory solution in terms of aerodynamics.

But this drawback carries little weight in comparison with the labour-saving effect.

The commercial saillling ships of the future will need an auxiliary engine for use when becalmed and to power machinery such as the mast roller.

Engines will also be needed for docking, but Hamburg engineers say engines only a quarter of the size of those required by motor vessels of the same size would be needed.

Harnessing the wind will also make it possible to cut fuel consumption to between five and eight per cent of that of a conventional freighter.

Rigging will be mechanised to such a degree that manpower need not be larger than the crew of a conventional freighter of similar size.

The cruising speed of a sailing ship is clearly lower than that of a motor vessel, but that is sure to be of less importance than the fuel saving.

Wind tunnel trials have led the design team to expect the prototype to reach a mean cruising speed of five-and-a-half knots in the Java Sea.

That may be fairly slow, but it is 15 per cent faster than a square-sailed ship with sails of comparable size.

Test at sea

The Hamburg shipbuilders will first be trying out their rigging on a small scale on board a 100-ton freighter under sail in Indonesia.

Their next step will be to build a prototype of the 1,400-tonner envisaged for commercial use. The wind use could be tested in practice on this prototype.

Interest in modern sailing ship technology has been shown by other countries with comparable economic and weather conditions, such as the Philippines and Sri Lanka.

Harald Steinert
(Die Welt, 12 June 1982)

Yesterday's technique

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wall. It is a compound that reduces the surface tension of water, ensuring that the hydrous, fat-repellent cell comes into contact with the oil.

The micro-organisms would need only half a per cent of the oil extracted on which to feed and grow.

In a production cycle the bacteria flourish in the oil extracted while the glycolipids from their cell walls can be pumped back down into the oil deposits.

Pumping the microbes directly into the subterranean deposits would not make sense. The lack of oxygen and temperatures of 75 to 90 degrees centigrade would prevent growth.

Unlike artificial tensides that have also been experimentally used in tertiary production, bacteria glycolipids remain active even in the high salt content down below.

If this process were to prove feasible roughly half the oil so far left in the earth could be extracted.

Oil deposits in the Federal Republic of Germany total an estimated 600 million tons. Over 500 million cannot be extracted using conventional processes. So there is considerable scope for improvement.

Reinhard Wandtner
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 June 1982)

THE ARTS

Freedom comes back, but only at a price

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

For years artists and their public have wanted an exhibition organiser capable of brushing aside top-heavy di[illegible]ces and giving art its freedom back.

That is what the Kassel art show, Documenta 7, has tried to do. The result is confusion. Visitors have been put completely out of stride.

The organising committee, headed by Rudi Fuchs from Holland, consists of Gerhard Storck, Johannes Gachnang, Germano Celant and Coosje van Bruggen (Claes Oldenburg's wife).

The show they have put together at the Fridericianum in Kassel is an all-out attack on established views, possibly with a positive, liberating effect, possibly not.

It may be to the detriment of art. First impressions are not necessarily right. But the displays at the Orangerie and the Neue Galerie leave one feeling sceptical.

The way the larger paintings are hung at the Fridericianum is at first glance unsatisfactory too. Few of them can be seen at sufficient distance.

Just before the exhibition began, Fuchs told journalists he was surprised at the size of exhibits.

This more or less technical shortcoming must be seen as an infringement of the concept, or would have to be if there had been one.

The keynote of Documenta 5 was Individual Mythologies and of Documenta 6 The Media. This time Rudi Fuchs's declared aim was not to have a keynote.

"The title problem," he notes in the first volume of the two-part catalogue, "must be the problem of the exhibition or the problem of the time at which the exhibition is held."

He adds that: "They have done everything possible to avoid a 'nervous' exhibition ... We felt it was important to liberate art from the various compulsions and social contortions to which it is subjected."

He risks using the word 'taste' in a positive sense and writing about the artist that: "The individual spirit is his pencil and his material."

In his inimitably confusing style he says: "We have woven a carpet. The comparison is particularly apt, since staging an exhibition is not an intellectual task, especially ours. It is more of a handicraft."

This definition, together with the claim that it is mainly a matter of the quality of art, naturally takes the wind out of the sails of a fair amount of criticism.

But with such turns of phrase the Dutch museum director has laid himself wide open to derision and queries as to his competence.

The accusation most frequently levelled at the Documenta 7 organisers is that they have staged a return to feudal behaviour that may celebrate art but will not get it across to a wider public.

This is an accusation that cannot entirely be dismissed, although one would not be too ready to accept it.

The main exhibition certainly gets off to a daring start with James Lee Byars's golden pillar, giving on to the golden wall and clothes stand by Jannis Kounellis.

Is Fuchs heralding a golden age of art, or is it gold leaf papering over galloping inflation?

In one of the first rooms two large new paintings by Georg Baselitz are hung upside down, with the emphasis on money. Opposite them is Luciano Fabro's Jewels, a work in several parts consisting of suspended, abstract forms.

A few steps further on there are large, dark paintings by Markus Lüpertz opposite a wall dotted blue by Niele Toroni.

There is even greater complication in a room where one wall is taken up by Penck's TRR and another by two parts of Victory, an enormous photographic work by Gilbert and George.

A third wall is occupied by Bruce Nauman's steel South American Triangle over four metres long. The room also contains two units of Stanley Brouwn's Paces.

Confusing, to say the least, is the only way to describe the juxtaposition of Jörg Immendorff's Café-Deutschland paintings and Judd's Wallboxes and Hans Haaske's photographic attack on British Leyland.

Another irritant is that in the refurbished Fridericianum the same artists reappear more or less symmetrically with works that very much resemble each other.

The first floor is very largely dedicated to young Italian artists such as Cuchi, Clemente, Chia, Pistolotto and Nicolode Maria and established masters such as Emilio Vedova.

The Documenta organisers did not want to cast the generation question in the guise of a question of quality. All, they felt, were equal.

Yet the arrangement still seems to some extent ordered. There is, for instance, an impressive corridor begin-

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Jörg Immendorff's 'Brandenburg Gate' at Kassel. (Photo: dpa)



American Claes Oldenburg's exhibit at Kassel. (Photo: Süddeutscher Verlag)

It's the thought behind the appearance that counts

We owe it to concept art to have reminded us that the idea, the thought, is the quintessence of a work of art, not its material appearance.

Art, as Plato already knew, was in the mind, not the matter. Bearing is more important than handwriting.

In the tempestuous course of artistic progress we art critics have learnt to manage with less and less material and to put in more and more thought.

But there will be many visitors to the German pavilion at the Venice festival, managed by Mönchengladbach museum director Johannes Cladders, who wonder which side of Gotthard Graubner's coloured ikons the art is on.

In walking through the left wing of the tall, light, white-painted hall the writer nearly trod on a yellow rectangular patch on the floor.

This was prevented in the nick of time by the swift reaction of an attendant. The consequences would indeed have been disastrous: months of artistic hard work ruined.

Yet anyone with a cough and an allergy could easily blow away this sensitive yellow patch. It consists of dandelion pollen collected in quantity in and around Biberach by Wolfgang Laib.

Laib, who was born in 1950 in Metzingen, collected his dandelions in green spring meadows and has carefully laid them out, or strewn them, on the floor of the Venice Biennale.

In colour terms it makes sense. No artist's colours are more intense in their shade of yellow.

"Pollen," says the catalogue, "stands for something indispensable, compressed, substantial, initial. It seems charged by nature with the symbolic and mythical."

The monastically gentle activity of a flower child busily sipping like a bee at the calyx to fill half a glass after endless trouble sets the imagination going.

Is not even this material too coarse? If fairy-tale fairies have solar dust collected with which to bake bread, then surely a dedicated romantic ought to lie on a green meadow and dream pure sky-blue beneath sleeping eyelids.

Wolfgang Laib abandoned medicine after qualifying in 1974 to devote himself as an autodidact to "spiritual intentions." He has collected a few other varieties of pollen too.

They are from buttercups and sorrel, alder and pine, and he is offering glasses of pollen in delicate colours for sale to collectors at DM10,000 a glass.

Even an alternative artist has to live from something or other. His Milkstones, arguably not as consistent in carrying out the idea behind them, are rectangular marble tiles ingeniously worked to differ slightly from the normal.

Their slightly concave surface keeps the gentle juice of life to within geometrical limits, reflecting it as though it were ground stone.

For conventional avant-garde art such as this Cladders is still right in saying that: "Language is poorly equipped to describe the items laid out by Laib."

To some extent this also applies to the room-filling facing exhibit by Hanne Darboven entitled *Schreibzeit* (Writing Time).

Born in Munich in 1941, she works in Hamburg and has spent her working hours as an artist since the late 60s writing: day by day, week by week, year by year.

She writes not letters and words but in an artifical handwriting that conveys

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■ THE CINEMA

Curt Jurgens legend built in an age of flamboyance

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Curt Jurgens, who has died at the age of 69, was a star in an era when Hollywood producers proclaimed even mediocre films as world beaters.

Showing off was part and parcel of the business, and this included flaunting the huge earnings of stars.

Jurgens always needed this ostentatious show of wealth on which his aura rested.

He was a people's actor who kindled those dreams in which the man-in-the-street recognised his own ideals of manhood.

He played *Everyman* in Salzburg, but he never left any doubt that he did not consider himself to be "everyman".

The Jurgens legend and the affection of an audience dates back to an age when people still recognised themselves in fairy tales.

In his memoirs, Jurgens is not embarrassed to speak of driving up to the first tee in his white Rolls Royce and unloading his golf clubs.

He become a fossil in an era of inverted snobbery when everybody who is somebody tries to hide his wealth.

Though he never lacked public sympathy, he did not reach the peak of his career until the 1950s, a decade in which a defeated nation created what was to become known as the *Wirtschaftswunder* and what the generation of today haughtily looks down upon because it no longer understands the driving force of an era that was rooted in handed-down principles.

It was an era when the nation tightened its collective belt, rolled up its sleeves and, to make up for the want in everyday life, paid boundless tribute to success.

Things have changed. Our sated society now indulges in social envy and even those who provide it with its daily dose of television entertainment are begrudged their rate of pay.

Curt Jurgens always opposed this sort of egalitarianism.

He loved money and spoke about it unabashedly; he was a likeable show-off, not a man riddled with complexes.

There were times when he complained about a public that was allegedly more interested in his real or assumed affairs than in his artistic work. But this sensitivity did not go very deep.

In fact, he enjoyed the scandals that surrounded him and being a professional, he happily accepted the meshing of his private and public lives.

"Why do German cabarets keep lashing out at the *Wirtschaftswunder?* After all, there's nothing evil about a man with a big Mercedes. On the contrary, it's lovely, and he's probably a rather likable fellow," he once said.

And when the public begrudged him his golden spoons he said that it would have been an imposition to expect him to return a DM 30,000 gift. "I don't have that sort of nobility of character," he said.

He was a rather honest man and his love of himself tended to be embarrassing.

Some people might have been offended by the neat manner in which he listed his successes with women. But what would life have been without him and glamorous girls?

Curt Jurgens had no great range of characters as an actor. He was the sort of man who always played himself — or at least the stereotype that had been foisted on him.

The French called him the "Norman Wardrobe," and he never did anything to counter this cliche despite his obvious intelligence and commonsense.

"I don't want to play bon vivants and sleek lovers who don't believe in their own words. What I want to play is real men, he-men."

And he did. The lack of realism in many of his films never acquired the quality of illusion because the audience always had a feeling that "the Devil's General" was part of the reality of Jurgens's life.

He was first and foremost a film actor. It is here that his ample assets, physical presence and charisma, came into their own.

Yet he was no synthetic product of the film industry.

He started his working life as a reporter and was thoroughly familiar with life's vicissitudes. Later, he took up acting on the stage where he acquired an ability that is conspicuously absent in many film actors: to sense the reactions of real, live people. In his films, he always acted as if he were in front of a live audience.

The heroes he played were not the monumental kind to whom the audience looks up in awe.

Apart from Romy Schneider, Curt Jurgens was the only German film actor to have made an international name for himself.

He frequently played the tough, giant German officer, the man whose outward toughness was no more than the armour needed to protect a vulnerable core.



Curt Jurgens (left) as the Devil's General with his driver, played by Paul Westermeier.
(Photo: Deutsches Institut für Filmkunde)

This might, in fact, have been his own personality. In any event, he originally wanted to entitle his memoirs "I, Norman Wardrobe, Colossus with Feet of Clay".

No matter how hidden and latent, there was always a certain insecurity in him.

His memoirs, which in their final version bore the title *Sixty And Not Yet Wise*, were to have spoken of his defeats as well. But in the end, they only confirmed what everybody knew and he remained faithful to his own motto: "My reputation is like a clap of thunder".

Jurgens remained successful abroad for as long as the Americans, the British and the French had their eyes riveted on the mystery surrounding a country that had once spelled fear and terror for the world.

There was a mystique surrounding this outcast nation, a mystique stemming from a shocking past which gave it a morbid fascination.

An intelligent man once said that the German general staff was this century's great myth along with the dungeons of the Vatican.

Jurgens gave colour and contours to this myth. He also heightened the feeling that Hitler and his cohorts had seized like demons upon the souls of upright German officers.

Be this as it may, today we are somebody again or, as the politicians in their neat accountants' language put it: we are a medium-sized power.

But the mystery has meanwhile been resolved, and German stars are no longer export commodities.

"Drama is my profession," Jurgens once said.

He was a passionate *Burgtheater* actor. In the end — as a grotesque punctuation mark for a life that had been blown up into one big scandal — he was even given the title of professor.

"Never show where your limits are," Werner Krauss once counselled Jurgens, who used a Shakespeare quotation as a motto of *his memoirs*: "Thus conscience makes cowards of us all".

It was his aggressive maleness that made him the darling of German films. Like other actors who are popular in Germany, he had boyish, immature traits; and he never came to terms with the fact that age demands its tribute.

He rebelled against mortality and made a cult of youthfulness.

"I wish I could do again the stupid things I did when I was 30," he said.

There is no reason to praise his films excessively. Curt Jurgens always considered himself a good actor; yet — in a moment of insight — he once admitted that he could have been a lot better had he not accepted roles indiscriminately.

Perhaps he did not have enough faith in his prospects and feared that the fame he had gained in a stereotyped role was ephemeral.

In any event, films like *Rummelplatz der Liebe* and *Du mein stilles Tal* will be forgotten.

But *Me and the Colonel*, *The Devil's General* and *Schachnovelle* will be remembered beyond his death.

As youngsters, we crowded the cheap cinema seats to admire this rough-hewn he-man.

But we grew older and Curt Jurgens became an anachronism. Today, on seeing reruns of his old films we realise that Jurgens was part of our longings and illusions. A bit of ourselves has died with him.

Accompanied by the hopeful promises of faith and angel music, *Everyman* descends to his grave, flanked by his deeds, as did the blue-eyed actor with the husky voice who died of heart failure in a Vienna hospital on 18 June.

Michael Schwarze

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 18 June 1982)

Freedom at a price

Continued from page 11

ning with a concentric arrangement of three tables by Reiner Ruthenbeck: with a blue sphere, a tilted red-brown box and a green block suspended below.

Then comes a large oil chalk drawing by Richard Serra and a flat wall sculpture by David Rabinowitch set between two windows.

Young German painters can be seen one floor further up, but mostly poor work by von Dahn, Dokoupil and Salomé.

Yet even their work is at times displayed in interesting combinations, such as a wall emblem by Volker Tannert, an 'installation' by Sarkis entitled *The Painter's Dream* and a large wall painting by Isolde Wawrin.

Rudi Fuchs told a conference of international correspondents on the opening day that he and his fellow-jurymen were tired and happy to be able to offer a new look at art.

He did not have too much to say, which could not be said of Joseph Beuys, whose 7,000 stones stored outside the Fridericianum as a substitute for 7,000 oak trees had been sprayed pink by a demonstrator.

Beuys arrived at Kassel's *Rathaus* with a costly imitation of the crown of Ivan the Terrible, not on his head but in his hand.

His intention was to melt down the gold and precious stones on 30 June so as to "transform the symbol of power into an object of peace."

It was also to "give the power of money a democratic character."

He then handed the crown to another speaker on the rostrum every five minutes, like a trophy, which was more than anyone really deserved at the Documenta press conference.

Least deserving of them all was, arguably, Rudi Fuchs. All he really said was: "It all just happens to be the way it is."

He doubted whether the public could handle art, and was promptly catcalled by the audience. The 'story,' which was how he saw Documenta 7, threatened to become an unpleasant song.

Amine Haase

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 19 June 1982)

■ MEDICINE

Patients 'improve survival chances by fighting'

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

People who fight their disease stand a better chance of survival than people who give up, doctors and nurses were told at a Berlin conference.

Professor Horst-Christian Maurer said that people who gave in to their disease automatically weakened their bodies' defences. They ran the risk of going under.

Professor Maurer, medical director of die *Bundesversicherungsanstalt für Angestellte* (BfA), the social security health insurance fund, said psychological factors had a great effect on the body's capacity to resist disease.

Inner strength could help against physical illness.

Many patients were discharged from hospital permanently ill or disabled, often after cancer surgery or heart attack.

Their choice, said Professor Maurer, was between resignation and rehabilitation. Rehabilitation here meant integration into everyday life.

Ideally a patient would go back to work or retrain.

Rehabilitation came in degrees. It could mean that a person partly paralysed from a stroke and unable to speak could still live alone at home.

Berlin district nurse Maria Wegner described how a stroke victim managed to recover sufficiently to potter round in the garden after a year of tedious treatment at home — he did not even have to go into a nursing home.

She told the meeting that it was relatively easy to rally neighbourhood help in such cases.

But doctors are hard to convince that such patients can be rehabilitated outside hospital.

They say outside help is only effective if it is given as help towards self-help. The fact is that a patient must rehabilitate himself although it is up to his environment to create the necessary conditions.

Professor Maurer said follow-up care was now provided for 10 different groups of chronic illnesses.

This after-care began after discharge if the hospital took the trouble to arrange it.

Sometimes lack of communication or transfer of doctors meant that nothing was arranged.

Often there was a lack of information in hospitals which did not have a social work department.

Some hospitals were not interested in discharging patients. They wanted beds full for as long as possible.

Physical therapist Gerhard Axnick said many discharged patients were often overcared-for at home by their families.

Proper after-care taught the patient how to cope. It taught such things as getting into a car from a wheelchair. It taught partly paralysed people how to use aids.

But psychological mastery was often the big need.

Dr Rudolf Lachauer described the average course of psychological adjustment. At first, the patient refused to accept what had happened.

Then came despair. This gradually gave way to hope. But some patients did not get beyond that stage. They were unable to readjust.

They tried to live as they had before. This was particularly true of heart attack victims.

Others constantly sought pampering or sank into hopelessness or resignation.

In specialised rehabilitation hospitals, psychologists, teachers, therapists and doctors tried to boost the patient mentally by mobilising what resources he or she did have.

But such specialised help was seldom available where the patient lived.

Dr Christian Schauwecker said some patients went to a doctor when they had problems of depression, social isolation or feelings of just being different.

But the doctor could usually do nothing. He often had little time and seldom did little more than prescribe another drug.

Self-help groups of the chronically ill were increasingly being formed. Common disabilities also meant common problems, and common problems created a bond.

Discussions in small groups of people with similar disabilities helped.

A comparison of members of self-help groups in Heidelberg with other chronically ill people showed this clearly.

Group activities did not hamper continued medical treatment. Dr Schauwecker knew of no case where a patient had interfered with treatment, a reservation which many doctors have against such self-help groups.

It transpired at the meeting that frequently expressed fears that general budgetary cutbacks would endanger rehabilitation programmes were unfounded. All that would be affected would be stays in spas, which the working poulation generally regards as an extra vacation.

Rosemarie Stein

(Der Tagesspiegel, 20 June 1982)

The problems of an illness that isn't really an illness at all

Unlike hypertension (high blood pressure), which causes no suffering but can be deadly, hypotension (low blood pressure) causes a lot of suffering but nobody has yet died from it.

In fact, hypotension is generally considered protective.

A seminar on this disorder that is frequently no disease at all was organised in Cologne by the Institute for Aviation Medicine of the German Aerospace Research and Test Centre.

The seminar was attended by experts in space medicine (who deal primarily with cardiovascular changes in conditions of zero gravity), economists, general practitioners and sport medicine experts.

The Institute for Health System Research, Kiel, presented a study on the "minor complaint" hypotension, which costs the national economy DM2bn a year.

The cost is largely because doctors are quick to hand out sickness certificates, and because of inefficiency due to fatigue and inability to concentrate.

People insured under the social security health insurance spent a total of 1.1 million days in hospital in 1978 due to hypotension. And more than one per cent of all stays in spas due to this diagnosis were accounted for by low blood pressure that year.

This country's two million hypotension sufferers — compared with the ten million hypertension patients — are thus an element to be reckoned with.

Professor Max Halhuber deplored the inadequacy of hypotension research and the fact that the definitions of the disorder vary widely.

He stressed that hypotension does not become a real disease until the person concerned starts suffering from it.

Many people in this country live with low blood pressure without any complaints.

Others (usually people who find it hard to get out of bed) tend to have heart complaints that do not stem from the heart; they suffer from dizzy spells and are generally listless.

Doctors warn against trying to cure the disorder through medication.

Professor Halhuber: "Blood pressure must always be treated, but preferably not with drugs."

And if drugs against low blood pressure are unavoidable they should be used for short periods only, as in cases where they are meant to help overcome a psychological crisis partly caused by hypotension.

Links between hypotension and a person's emotional state are an established fact. People with low blood pressure frequently also suffer from depression, Professor Richard Rost told the audience.

But he questioned cause and effect in this context, saying that people with depression frequently use hypotension as a means of turning something that is emotional and therefore intangible into a generally accepted disorder.

Professor Rost recommends sport rather than drugs.

Certain sports, like rowing, are particularly suitable because they lead to a contraction of the blood vessels in the muscles that are used and make the blood pressure rise.

One of the prime examples mentioned by Professor Rost was holding a chair with outstretched arms, which leads to an instant steep rise in blood pressure.

Table tennis, swimming and various team sports such as volleyball or basketball are also recommended.

Jogging tends to have the opposite effect by making the blood pressure sink still further.

Ingrid Müller-Münch

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 June 1982)

The thought...

Continued from page 11

nothing more than the regularity of 'good' handwriting written in a school exercise book.

In accordance with a carefully devised timetable she writes, as a high priestess of transitoriness, on sheets of paper resembling official forms.

They have lately been photocopied and are beautifully framed in red. They are intended to take up an entire century. Her *Weltansichten* (World Views) at Venice consists of 5,300 sheets pasted seamlessly on a wall four metres tall.

Nostalgic postcards from the family firm (her family own a well-known Hamburg coffee company) scan the fanatical ardour with which she carries on with her life's work.

She is as inexorable as a cash register. Is is a breathtaking form of resignation? Are they songs without words? Is it self-assertion in the form of "I write, therefore I am" against the destructive passage of time?

Hard work and drawing-board discipline are qualities that can hardly be disputed such minutiae manically pursued. But in view of this unending addition comparisons with Bach fugues are out of place.

Even Herr Cladders, enthusiastic thiugh he may wax, does not feel this "insane enterprise" stands the slightest chance of being completed in space and time.

Gotthard Graubner, a genuine, proven artist, holds these diverging efforts together with his locally executed illustrations, the sight of which gives the confused onlooker strength.

Graubner, who has worked as a professor at art colleges in Hamburg and Düsseldorf, claims to have taken up the challenge of the empty space and the colours of the city.

A 'painted object' four metres square and cloudily wine-red in colour dominates the central square in front of the apse of the German pavilion.

Other, smaller plates arranged as a tryptych in green, red and orange are hung to one side. Work of his in cellulose is exhibited by the wall at the entrance.

They make up a kind of spatial work of art with claim to an almost sacred status. Graubner's aim, as in older cushion pictures with which he made his name, is to illustrate the spatial effect of colour.

His Venetian pictures are likewise coloured space objects that make the colour reverberate, circle, breathe and stay in a strange state of suspended animation.

Tintoretto is mentioned in the catalogue. But who has not thought in terms of Tintoretto in Venice? Graubner's colour signals are impressive nonetheless.

Yet one could visualise his earlier work having been more effective by virtue of its plastic artificiality, more transparent, subtler and less material.

But as so often happens, Graubner has had to wait until late in his career before receiving the acclaim he deserves. At the last biennale Klaus Gallwitz shocked harmless art-lovers by exhibiting the work of Baselitz and Kiefer, who painted with their bare hands.

Visitors this time, possibly expecting something even wilder, will have been surprised by the purism. If Cladders and the German pavilion are to be credited, the uncompromising, upright German avant-garde still exists.

Wolfgang Rainer

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 16 June 1982)

CHILDREN

Police go to school in bid to beat juvenile delinquency

Hamburg police have begun a drive to prevent juvenile delinquency.

Some 60 police officers who have received special training are visiting schools in all parts of the city, addressing the children and holding discussions.

All the city's schools are to be visited by the end of the year.

"He must have had a sick soul," said one Hamburg schoolchild on the fact that one of his classmates had repeatedly been caught stealing.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Rosemarie Frommhold, Hamburg police youth commissioner, quotes this reply as being at the crux of juvenile delinquency.

Mrs Frommhold, who has been with the police for 27 years, is the coordinator of the new campaign.

What these children do is not criminal, she says.

The campaign aims to explain to children where these limits lie.

The officers want to help the children to understand and accept the law. They want to tell them that respecting the property of others is part of community living.

Frommhold attributes much of the blame to adults.

"The problem has been aggravated by an excessive fixation on material things and the growing uncertainty when it comes to conveying a sense of values. The first parents tell us when they learn that their child has been caught red-handed is: 'My child doesn't need to steal.' But this has nothing to do with the problems that trouble a child that steals."

There is, for instance, the young girl with her very generous pocket money and a horse of her own. But her father is always busy and her mother has to pursue her social obligations. There is domestic staff at home but nobody with whom the girls feels that she can talk. So she begins to steal.

Or the 7-year-old boy who was caught taking a toy car. When questioned by the police he started off self-confidently. But suddenly the tears began running down his cheeks: "All I wanted was for my Mom to love me again," he cried. He felt that his mother suddenly devoted all her love to his little sister.

Frommhold also criticises the answers parents give when something has been stolen from their child: "It doesn't matter . . . the insurance will pay for it."

The parents think in material categories and her children are taught a wrong attitude towards property. Many people fail to see what a blow it is to a child to have its bicycle stolen. Such a child considers itself a victim, and victims frequently turn into criminals. Other parents feel a sort of pride in their offspring's criminal exploits. There was, for instance, a group of classmates who committed 25 thefts during a school excursion and continued stealing on their return home. They formed a gang that went so far as to steal on order.

Some of the parents tolerated this because they saw it as proof that their child was capable of coping with life.

The reason for such juvenile crime can be an inferiority complex; but frequently it is committed to prove courage or because the rules of a clique demand it. Often it is no more than a lark.

"It usually starts with small things. Nobody starts with bag snatching," says Frommhold.

She is convinced that the new drive will be successful.

It has already proved its worth at one school that had previously had many thefts. No further thefts were reported after the police officers had lectured and held discussions there.

Commented one officer: "The children are open-minded and now have a much better attitude towards the police."

dpa

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 June 1982)



All smiles and back safe and sound in Kiel . . . three would-be world travellers (story below). (Photo: dpa)

Reading faults blamed on bad teaching

Many children who cannot learn to read and write may not be dyslectic. They are just not being taught properly, according to a new theory.

Professor Rolf Müller, a linguistics and language teacher at Kassel University, has been dealing with dyslexia since 1973.

He says teaching methods for these children should be changed.

Some schools say that between 30 and 50 per cent of some first and second-year classes comprise dyslectic children.

It is this huge number that has prompted experts to take another look at the problem.

An expert at the Lower Saxony Education Ministry conceded that Professor Müller has a point.

Another one went so far as to say that the term "dyslexia" was an excuse for teaching inability.

He said that 90 per cent of the dyslectics are the products of our "cultural situation" in which pupils are expected to learn to read and write although their environment increasingly neglects these skills.

Education authorities say the term dyslexia should be used either sparingly or, as in Lower Saxony, not at all.

Attempts are now being made to tackle the problem in a practical way. In Lower Saxony every elementary school student whose writing and reading grades drop below "satisfactory" (about 20 per cent) receives extra tutoring.

The dramatic increase in the number of alleged dyslectics is now thought to consist of an ever-growing number of pupils who are simply deficient in reading or writing and a few genuine dyslectics.

While children with typical reading and writing deficiencies tend to confuse the letters T and D, genuine dyslectics show a pattern of writing that no outsider can understand. As a result they cannot be helped through special spelling lessons.

Professor Müller says the increase in the number of alleged dyslectics is due to inadequate training in the technique of writing because the timetable barely makes allowance for this.

Writing and reading play a secondary role compared with verbal instruction, he says.

dpa

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 16 June 1982)

Around the world in half an hour

KielerNachrichten

The master of the *Kronprinsessan Victoria* ferry had a hard time keeping a straight face on a trip from Kiel to Sweden when three stowaways were brought before him: two 8-year-old girls who had decided to take their 2-year-old brother along to show him a bit of the world.

Having emptied their piggy bank and picked up their brother from the nursery, they took a bus and tram to the

Continued on page 15

Judges wait for ruling on custody issue

A Federal Constitutional Court ruling will finally decide a question that has been troubling divorced fathers since the 1979 amendment of Section 1671 of the Civil Code: Can custody of a child be granted to one parent only, in most cases the mother?

Many family affairs judges find it difficult to decide which parent should have custody.

The child, on the other hand, is like a person who "has had an arm or a leg amputated," as a spokesman of the *Verband Scheidungsgeschädigter* (divorce victims' association) puts it.

Several family affairs judges have suspended proceedings pending a ruling by the Constitutional Court: They consider the present law a violation of the Constitution.

In a Constitutional Court hearing, Herr Heyde, a senior representative of the Bonn Justice Ministry, defended the existing law, arguing that joint custody would mean added risk for the development of the child.

But none of the lawyers, teachers and doctors who testified on the issue agreed.

Professor Pechstein of the Child Neurological Centre in Mainz said that experience showed that the present legal provisions were intolerable.

The emotional trauma a child suffers as a result of a divorce, he said, can best be prevented if both parents continue to have unrestricted contact with the child after the divorce.

Other experts, like Professor Fthenakis of the Munich-based *Staatsinstitut für Frühpädagogik* (state institute for early-age pedagogics) agree, saying that joint care for the child was essential for its developments.

The chairman of the German Society for the Protection of Children (who is also a judge at a Bielefeld court) said: "It is a child's basic right to have access to both parents."

Berlin judge Müller-Webers, chairman of the Family Law Commission of the Federation of German Judges, pointed to the changed attitude towards marriage and the fact that couples accept the possibility of a divorce with all its consequences, including joint responsibility for a child.

In view of such massive arguments and the joint custody practised in other countries, the government representative said that the law would be reviewed.

He conceded that the legal provisions governing custody, which were drafted in 1977 and came into force in 1979, might now be unconstitutional. The final word will have to be spoken by the Constitutional Court justices.

Claus Donath

(Bremer Nachrichten, 14 June 1982)

LEISURE

Kiel Regatta more than just a parade of sails

Christ und Welt
Rheinischer Merkur

Kiel Regatta, now in its centenary season, has always been a rendezvous of the rich and famous. Admiral Tirpitz was its first adjudicator, Kaiser Wilhelm a regular visitor.

Crowned heads have been among the competitors. The best-known in recent years were ex-King Constantine of Greece and Juan Carlos of Spain.

The first regatta, in 1882, was very upper class, not to say feudal, yet surprisingly sporting. It was not long before the Kaiser came.

Wilhelm II was convinced that Germany must become a maritime power if it was to gain its rightful place in the world, and naval interests were keen on world power too.

So by the turn of the century Kiel was a show of strength and an annual event with a distinctly political flavour. No-one on board the 20 yachts that took part in the inaugural regatta can have imagined what a gigantic showcase it was to become.

Crowned and uncrowned kings, emperors and captains of industry, the nobility from all over Europe converged on Kiel for regatta week.

In 1904 Edward VII of Britain visited the regatta. He was welcomed by his nephew, the Kaiser, and made an honorary member of the Imperial Yacht Club.

Times have changed now that Kiel is open to the public and Bonn heads of state are as much a part of the festivities as the sailing ships and bevies of eye-catching sailor girls.

Bonn heads of state, incidentally, have been regular visitors since 1950. Theodor Heuss, the first Bonn President, started the tradition. He came to Kiel for eight years in succession.

In the early days the great hired paid hands to do the sailing, mainly boy fishermen from Eckernförde who knew the ropes and were quick to grasp the opportunity.

Many came to be fine helmsmen and went to sea as a career. But not any more. There no longer are paid hands at Kiel. All that remains is a club of old-timers founded in 1906.

When they meet they swap yarns in low German dialect and have no time for landlubbers. The club's motto, embroidered on an old flag, is: *In Sturm und Wetter ist Gott unser Retter* (In Storm and Heavy Weather God is Our Saviour).

The great men of the world nowadays man the decks themselves. The few monarchs surviving in Europe do their best to keep it going as the sport of kings.

Two of them are Kiel regulars. Ex-King Constantine of Greece, who won Olympic gold in the Dragon class in 1960, sailed for Greece again in 1972 when the Olympic regatta was held at Kiel.

Juan Carlos of Spain, his brother-in-law, was not to be outdone. He also sailed for his country in 1972 at Kiel, and also in the Dragon.

He didn't win, but was less important to Kiel than that he had taken part. Besides, he may only have finished 15th, but three years later he became King. So everyone was happy.

The first regatta was a gathering of 20 yachts from Hamburg, Kiel, Glücksburg and Schleswig and three from Denmark that gave the event an international flavour.

By 1875 Gustav Sonntag from Berlin was sailing in Kiel on board a sturdy yacht, the *Argo*. In 1881 officers of the Reichsmarine held a small regatta there.

Hamburg yachtsmen decided the time had come to act. The North German Regatta Club, or NRV, founded in 1868, staged the first Kiel regatta the following summer.

Two naval officers were the first adjudicators. Both, Schroeder and Tirpitz, went on to become grand-admirals in the Imperial Navy.

The navy has since always been part of the event. After the Second World War, when Germans were not yet allowed to sail again, the British formally arranged Kiel Week.

Under the aegis of the Royal Navy German aides kept the event going. Paid hands made in Germany again, the wits said.

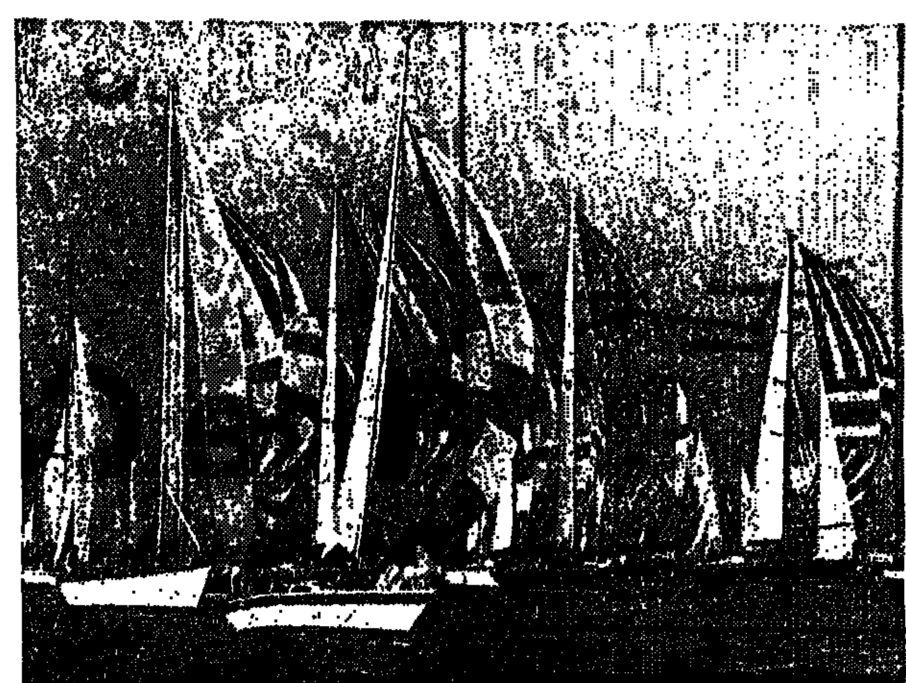
This year 1,487 yachts took part. It is the largest event of its kind in the world. Some say Kiel has grown too big, too expensive and too impersonal. There is a grain of truth in such allegations.

Kiel regatta has long ceased to be the prerogative of the North German Regatta Club, with its clubhouse on the shore of the Alster, Hamburg's city-centre lake.

The NRV, incidentally, is so old that it is not registered as a club with the local court. Its credentials are with the Senate Chancellery of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg.

Its colours are those of Hamburg, the North German Confederation and Prussia. Its members have won more Olympic medals and European and world championships than those of any other German club.

It soon had to call on the service of another club to help organise the regatta. It was the Naval Regatta Club, founded in 1887 and in 1891 renamed the Imperial Yacht Club.



Under way under blue skies . . . Kiel Regatta this year. (Photo: dpa)

In 1937 the Nazi authorities, having already made great play with the regatta for propaganda purposes, merged two Kiel clubs to run the regatta as the Yacht Club of Germany.

The old club, whose patrons included Friedrich Krupp and Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, is now back in business as the Kiel Yacht Club.

The Hamburg Yacht Club, founded in 1892, is not quite as distinguished as the other two, but the Kiel regatta owes it as much as it does to them.

Debt to Hamburg

It is currently run by a successful Hamburg businessman, Hans-Otto Schümann, who is known to ocean-going yachtsmen all over the world.

He made the Admiral's Cup popular in Germany and in 1973 captained the German team that won what has come to be acknowledged as the unofficial world championship of ocean-going yachting.

Fourth and last of the four clubs that now run the regatta is the Wannsee club, in West Berlin, which was founded in 1867 and is thus a year older than the NRV in Hamburg.

Its members have included Olympic winners such as Peter Bischoff and Jochen Weise, who won gold at Kiel in 1936, and Willi Kuhweide, who was first in the Flying Dutchman at Tokyo in 1964.

Berliners are not known for their modesty, so let it be added that theirs is not the oldest yacht club in Germany. That distinction was held by a club founded in Königsberg, East Prussia, in 1855.

Great yachts such as the *Meteor*, which was the Kaiser's, the *Iduna*, which was run by his wife, the *Hamburg*, run by Hamburg businessmen, and the *Germania*, run by the Krupps, long reigned supreme at Kiel.

All can still be seen, but only in oils. The Kiel regatta was always linked with the navy, however, and when the Kiel Canal was opened in 1895 the first major naval parade was held to mark the event.

It featured warships from all over Europe and even the United States. True to the Imperial slogan "Our future lies on the water," Germany's dreadnoughts were soon to join them.

This martial character changed in time, although the Nazis resurrected it for a while. Since the Second War Kiel has been much more peaceful, and intentionally so.

Naval units still visit the city but they no longer predominate. Kiel suffered too heavily from Allied air raids not to put two and two together.

The city's 270,000 inhabitants well remember what consequences the raids on shipyards and naval installations had for them and resolved to ensure change.

Andreas Gayk, Kiel's post-war burgomaster, determined in the late 40s to infuse a new spirit into the regatta. The naval parade has become a popular *festival, the gathering of yachtsmen is* wider in scope.

In days gone by nationalist and chauvinist slogans often predominated. International understanding is now the keynote, with contacts made and friendships maintained and intensified.

Not for nothing does Kiel maintain close and cordial ties with Tallinn in Soviet Estonia, also an Olympic regatta city.

Soviet propagandists and others in Eastern Europe occasionally protest against alleged militarism at Kiel, but such allegations are entirely without foundation.

Battleships no longer line Kiel bay. The sight of the regatta these days is the parade of sailing ships, first held in September 1972 as an accompaniment to the Olympic regatta.

There was the *Gorch Fock* from Germany, the *Kruzenstern* from Russia, the *Dar Pomorza* from Poland, the *Sea Cloud* and a host of old-timers.

They never cease to delight the 200,000 visitors for whom the regatta is Kiel's answer to Mardi Gras, with beer and stalls, street theatre and politics, congresses and concerts, marvellous bars and a full supporting programme.

The crowds will hardly have noticed anything special about the centenary regatta. Why should they? It was, after all, only the 87th.

As 100 ship's bells rang in 200 hours of sailing and festivities on 19 June, with 4,000 yachtsmen from 25 countries competing, few will have stopped to think why it was only the 87th regatta.

The answer is, of course, two world wars that put paid to the fun and games.

Karl Morgenstern

(Rheinischer Merkur / Christ und Welt, 18 June 1982)

World tour

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wharf, passed immigration and customs officials without problems.

Officials obviously thought the parents must be nearby.

The three went to the car deck, asked no questions. They also thought that the parents were just around the corner.

Once the ship had cast off and the children found themselves out of sight of land, they got frightened and started crying.

Other passengers asked them what the problem was, and the bubble burst.

The parents had meanwhile told the police, who were mounting a major search.

To everybody's relief, it was called off when the captain radioed the news.

Although the ferry had to retrace its course several miles, it was only half an hour late arriving at its Göteborg destination.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 17 June 1982)